A HISTORY OF THE VENERATION OF SS. THEODOSIJ AND ANTONIJ OF THE ...
BOSLEY, RICHARD DAVID
ProQuest Dissertations and Theses; 1980; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global

INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University
Microfilms
International

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8109658

BOSLEY, RICHARD DAVID

A HISTORY OF THE VENERATION OF SS. THEODOSIJ AND ANTONIJ OF THE KIEVAN CAVES MONASTERY, FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Yale University PH.D. 1980

University Microfilms International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1981

by

Bosley, Richard David

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark ✓.

1. Glossy photographs _____
2. Colored illustrations _____
3. Photographs with dark background _____
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
6. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages ✓
7. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
8. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
9. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author
10. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows
11. Poor carbon copy _____
12. Not original copy, several pages with blurred type _____
13. Appendix pages are poor copy _____
14. Original copy with light type _____
15. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
16. Other _____

University Microfilms International

300 N. ZEEB RD., ANN ARBOR, MI 48106 (313) 761 4700

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A HISTORY OF THE VENERATION OF SS. THEODOSIJ AND ANTONIJ OF THE KIEVAN CAVES MONASTERY, FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of

Yale University

in Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Richard David Bosley

December, 1980

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ABSTRACT

A HISTORY OF THE VENERATION OF SS. THEODOSIJ AND ANTONIJ OF THE KIEVAN CAVES MONASTERY, FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Richard David Bosley

Yale University

December, 1980

The point of departure of this dissertation is the theory first proposed by A. A. Šaxmatov that a Life of Antonij, the founder of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, existed in the Kievan era and was used as a source by the compiler of the Primary Chronicle, by Simon and Polikarp, whose epistles were included in the Kievan Caves Patericon, and by the monk Kassian in 1462 before it was lost forever. This theory was later developed by M. D. Priselkov, who asserted that certain Grecophile ecclesiastical circles in Kiev fostered the veneration of Antonij as a means of discrediting the cult of Theodosij which, like the cult of SS. Boris and Gleb, was supposedly an expression of Slavic nationalism against Byzantine cultural "hegemony".

The central thesis of the present study is that the theories of Šaxmatov and Priselkov are erroneous in every respect. No Life of Antonij was ever written, either in the Kievan era or thereafter. Antonij was not venerated until the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the cult of Theodosij was not an expression of nationalist sentiment. The author attempts to explain why Theodosij was venerated immediately

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

after his death, and why Antonij was forgotten until the beginning of the fifteenth century when there was a conscious attempt to revive his memory.

Chapter One is devoted to the prevailing interpretation of the cult of Antonij, and to refuting the theory of the lost Life of the founder of the Caves Monastery. Chapter Two reviews the biographies of Antonij and Theodosij and retraces the beginning of the cult of Theodosij in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Chapter Three discusses the development of Theodosij's cult after the Kievan era and analyzes the sudden appearance of the cult of Antonij about the year 1400.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

© Copyright by Richard David Bosley 1981

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table of Contents

A Note on Transliteration iv

List of Abbreviations v

Introduction 1

Chapter

I. The Theories of Šaxmatov and Priselkov 15

II. The Cult of Theodosij in the Kievan Era 62

III. The Cults of Theodosij and Antonij, 1150-1470 . . 121

Conclusion 168

Appendix One 171

Appendix Two 196

Bibliography 209

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A Note on Transliteration

Russian words have been transliterated according to the "international" system found in Joseph T. Shaw, The Transliteration of Modern Russian for English Language Publications (Madison, Wisconsin, etc., 1967): 5, 8-9. Both personal and place names have been transliterated rather than Anglicized with the exception of a few words which are common in English (e.g. Moscow, Khan). The names of churches however have been translated into their commonest English equivalents (e.g. St. Demitry, Dormition of the Virgin) to emphasize the fact that they were dedicated to saints or feasts of the entire Christian Church.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used in this study conform whenever possible to those found in N. A. Samorukova, Spravočnik sokraščenij, prinjatyx v istoričeskoj literature (M., 1964).

AE	Arxeografičeskij ežegodnik (1957-).
AI	Akty istoričeskie, sobrannye i izdannye Arxeografičeskoj kommissiej (SPb., 1841-1843).
CGADA	Central'nyj gos. arxiv drevnyx aktov, Moscow.
CGIAL	Central'nyj gos. istoričeskij arxiv, Leningrad.
ČOIDR	Čtenija v Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom universitete (1845-1918).
DAI	Dopolnenie k Aktam istoričeskim (SPb., 1846, 1875).
GBL	Gos. biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina, Rukopisnyj otdel, Moscow.
GIM	Gos. istoričeskij muzej, Otdel rukopisej, Moscow.
GPB	Gos. publičnaja biblioteka im. M. E. Saltykova-Ščedrina, Leningrad.
IORJaS	Isvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk, SSSR (1896-1927).
KPP	Kievo-pečerskij paterik, ed. by D. I. Abramovič, (Kiev, 1930). Reprinted with an introduction by D. Čizevskij as Das Paterikon des Kiever Hoehlenklosters (Munich, 1964).
L	Leningrad.
LOII	Leningradskoe otdelenie Instituta istorii ANSSSR, Rukopisnyj Otdel.
M	Moscow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

NPL	Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov, ed. by A. N. Nasonov (M.-L., 1950).
PDPI	Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva, Obščestva ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti, SPb. (1879-1925).
PSRL	Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, izdannoe Arxeografičeskoju kommissieju (1846-).
SB ORJaS	Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti ANSSSR (1867-1928).
SPb.	St. Petersburg.
SSS	Słownik starożytności słowiańskich (Wrocław, 1961-), published by the Polska Akademia Nauk, Komitet Słowianoznawstwa.
TODRL	Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury, Instituta russkoj literatury ANSSSR (1934-).
Uspenskij sbornik	ANSSSR, Institut russkogo jazyka, Uspenskij sbornik XII-XIII vv., ed. by S. I. Kotkov (M., 1971).
VMČ	Velikie minei-četii sobrannye vserossijskim mitropolitom Makariem (SPb., 1864-1914).
VV	Vizantijskij vremennik (1894-1928, 1947-).
ŽMNP	Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija (1834-1917).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Introduction

The present study grew out of an interest in hagiography as an historical source. Of course, this interest is not new: In the field of Russian history one immediately thinks of V. O. Ključevskij who, in 1871, published his master's essay entitled Old Russian Saints' Lives as an Historical Source. Written under the direction of S. M. Solov'ev at the University of Moscow, it was the fruit of six years of reading, analyzing and sorting thousands of manuscripts which had never been examined before in provincial archives and libraries. Today, over a century later, it is still the best single work on Russian hagiography.[1]

---

[1] For a survey of European scholarship on hagiography, see H. Delehaye, A travers trois siècles; l'oeuvre des Bollandistes 1615-1915 (Brussels, 1920): F. Graus, Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger (Prague, 1965); 25-88. See also F. Halkin, "L'hagiographie byzantine au service de l'histoire", in Congrès international des études byzantines, 13th, Oxford, Proceedings (London, 1967): 345-354. For a brief and inadequate review of the history of the study of Russian hagiography, see R. Stupperich, "Zur Geschichte der russischen hagiographischen Forschung", Kyrios 1 (1936): 47-56. V. O. Ključevskij, Drevnerusskie žitija svjatyx kak istoričeskij istočnik (Moscow, 1871). See the reviews by N. A. Popov, in Pravoslavnoe obozrenie, 1972, No. 1: 410-426 and by S. Protopopov in Strannik 3 (1874): 123-133. For an interesting discussion of Ključevskij's work on this book see S. I. Smirnov, "Issledovanija V. O. Ključevskogo 'Drevnerusskie žitija svjatyx kak istoričeskij istočnik'", ČOIDR 1914/1: 60, 62, 65, and M. V. Nečkina, Vasilij Osipovič Ključevskij; istorija žizni i tvorčestva. (M., 1974): Chapter 5. Smirnov notes that Ključevskij's dissertation was selling quite well until the public realized that it was not another pious collection of stories about the saints.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The seminal nature of Ključevskij's study has tended to obscure earlier work on Russian saints. Although much of this literature is of little value today, it is of considerable interest for the history of Russian scholarship and helps to explain the reason for choosing to write a history of the cults of SS. Antonij and Theodosij.

Just as European scholarship on Latin hagiography was long motivated by Protestant criticism and Catholic apology, studies of Russian saints before Ključevskij clearly reveal two distinct approaches. One may be loosely termed ecclesiastic/apologetic, the other romantic/populist.[2] Scholars of the first school were, by and large, ecclesiastics or laymen closely associated with the Church who felt the need to systematize, preserve and explain the heritage of Russian Orthodoxy. One representative of this group was A. N. Murav'ev, poet, traveller and amateur historian, who published a twelve volume collection of the lives of Russian saints in 1855. In his introduction Murav'ev explained that he was inspired to undertake this work after finding a list of saints honored in the seventeenth century and fearing that the deeds of these holy men would be forgotten forever.[3]

---

[2]Graus: 39-59.

[3]The first example of this trend seems to be the dictionaries of Russian saints published as early as 1784 and 1836; see Opyt slovarja o svjatyx (M., 1874); P. N. Petrov, "Kto avtor 'opyta slovarja o svjatyx" PDPI4 (1879): 205-208; (Prince D. N. Eristov?) Slovar' istoričeskij o svjatyx (SPb., 1836). A. N. Murav'ev, Žitija svjatyx rossijskoj cerkvi (SPb., 1855-1858). Murav'ev was only able to publish a non-liturgical collection of saints' lives because of his good personal relations with the clergy; see Brokgauz-Efron, Enciklopedičeskij slovar' (SPb., 1880-1906) 20: 188.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Other members of this school included Filaret Gumilevskij, Leonid Kavelin, Makarij Bulgakov, Prince D. M. Tolstoj and the editors of the journal of the Kazan' Theological Academy, Pravoslavnyj Sobesednik. Even E. E. Golubinskij, a scholar of the first order, must be assigned to this school: much of his History of the Canonization of Saints of the Russian Church was devoted to demonstrating, without much success, that all Russian saints had been canonized in a systematic and canonical manner.[4]

The romantic/populist school, which appeared after 1850, was a reaction to what was seen as a preoccupation with political history. A. A. Kunik was one of the first proponents of a new approach; criticizing the fact that the great menologion of Metropolitan Makarij had not yet been published he wrote:

> It seems to me that the only explanation for this indifference to such a gigantic collection is that we do not yet know how to use the lives of saints in history, or, perhaps, that the old, banal conception of history continues to dominate, limiting the contents of history to barbarous military exploits and in general to the outward sound and luster of the past.

---

[4] Filaret, Russkie svjatye, čtimye vseju cerkoviju ili mestno, 1st ed. (Černigov, 1861-1865); Idem, "Obzor russkoj duxovnoj literatury 862-1720", Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk, Otdelenie russko jazyk i slovesnosti (vtoroe), Učenye zapiski 1857, kniga 3; Leonid, Svjataja Rus' (SPb., 1981); Makarij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi, 2ne ed. (SPb., 1877-1891); Prince D. M. Tolstoj, "Kniga glagolemaja opisanie o rossijskix svjatyx", ČOIDR 1887, kniga 4; 1-291; E. E. Golubinskij, Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx russkoj cerkvi (M., 1903). See the reviews of Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx by N. S. Suvorov in ŽMNP 348 (1903): 263-308, by Paul Peeters in Analecta Bollandiana 33 (1914): 381-420, and by E. N. Temnikovskij in the Vremennik of the Demidovskij juridiceskij licej, Jaroslavl', 88 (1903): 1-77. For a study very similar in scope to Golubinskij's but very different in tone see V. Vasil'ev, "Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx", ČOIDR 1893, kniga 3: 1-291.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Whoever understands that the purpose of history is, in addition to that, to study and depict what the people of earlier ages thought, what they believed, what they felt in their hearts, values the historical importance of the tales of the lives of saints, not to mention their importance for literature and other disciplines.[5]

In 1868 Kunik's wish was finally fulfilled when the Archaeographic Commission published the first fascicle of the Velikie Minei-Četii. However not everyone interested in hagiography considered the event a success. V. O. Ključevskij, at that time working on his master's thesis, criticized the fact that so much of Makarij's compilation was of limited historical value and that it was too expensive to be purchased by many. He could not foresee the greatest shortcoming of the undertaking: that it would never be finished. When publication was discontinued in 1914 less than half of the menologion had been printed.[6]

There were other representatives of the romantic/populist school active in the 1850's and 1860's, including M. P. Pogodin, G. Kuševlev-Bezborodko, and especially I. S. Nekrasov, whose book The Birth of National Literature in Northern Russia, published in 1870, was a groundbreaking attempt to use the lives of the saints as a source for what would now be called social history. It is clear that Nekrasov was

---

[5]A. A. Kunik, "O perenesenii ikony sv. Nikolaja iz Korsunja v Novgorod, v 1223 g.", Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk, Otdelenija 1. i 3, Učenye zapiski 2 (1854): 759. It is worth remembering that the first Archaeographic Expedition took place in 1828, that the Imperial Archaeographic Commission was founded in 1834 and that the first volume of the Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej was published in 1841.

[6]See Ključevskij's review in Moskva, No. 90, June 20, 1868; reprinted in V. O. Ključevskij, Otzyvy i otvety, tretij sbornik statej (M., 1914): 1-19.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

working in this field as early as 1860; in a review of N. I. Kostomarov's famous book, Essay on the Domestic Life and Customs of the Russian People in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries Nekrasov criticized the work's lack of information on the history of medicine and pointed to the stories of the miracles worked by saints' relics as a valuable historical source.[7]

Ključevskij, himself a seminarian, was more a product of the romantic/populist school than of the ecclesiastic/apologetic. We do not know what originally motivated Ključevskij to undertake his study of Russian hagiography, but his comments on the last pages of his book clearly reveal his views upon completing his work. Echoing the words of Kunik and Nekrasov he wrote:

> The description of the miracles which occurred after the death of the saint...is irreplaceable material in many respects as a tale about the daily aspects of monastic life in which the cloister comes into immediate contact with the surrounding sinful world. ...Even more significantly, they are, for the most part, the only notes on some dark corner of Russia in which the local populace appears with its moral and physical illnesses and sometimes with its ethnographic and cultural peculiarities. Finally, it would be hard to name another branch of old Russian historical sources in which both the biographer's and the society's inner notions are so openly

---

[7] M. P. Pogodin, "Nestorovo žitie sv. Feodosija kak istoričeskij istočnik", Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk, Otdelenie russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti (vtoroe), Izvestija 9 (1960): 193-214; G. Kuševlev-Bezborodko, Pamjatniki starinnoj russkoj literatury, published by A. N. Pypin and N. I. Kostomarov (St. P., 1860-1862); I.S. Nekrasov, Zaroždenie nacional'noj literatury v severnoj Rusi (Odessa, 1870); Idem, review of Kostomarov's Ocerk domašnej žizni in Russkaja reč' 1861, No. 40: 582-585. F. I.Buslaev, A. F. Byčkov and S. M. Solov'ev also valued the lives of the saints as an historical source; Buslaev also criticized Kostomarov for not having used hagiographic sources; see V. S. Ikonnikov, Opyt russkoj istoriografii (Kiev, 1891-1908) 2: 1689-1693. Despite the enormous scope of Ikonnikov's study of historiography, he does not attach any particular importance to the interest in hagiography in the 1850's and 1860's and says nothing of the different approaches to the subject.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and so fully expressed.[8]

Ključevskij continued to advocate the value of hagiography, especially the accounts of miracles appended to the lives, until the end of his career. S. I. Smirnov once commented to Ključevskij on the amount of material from the lives of the saints which was included in the latter's Course of Russian History, to which Ključevskij replied: "Of course, only in the vitae is there life which you won't find in the archival material".[9]

Whereas the ecclesiastic/apologetic approach to Russian hagiography continued largely unchanged until the turn of the century, the romantic/populist trend slowly evolved into an interest in textual studies and editions, many of which were published by the Society of Lovers of Ancient Writing founded in 1876.[10] Although a number of exemplary publications have appeared, such as those of Serebrjanskij, Bugoslavskij, Abramovič and Jablonskij to name only a few, the lives of saints have never been used as an historical source in the manner originally envisioned by Kunik, Pogodin, Nekrasov, Ključevskij and others.

---

[8]Ključevskij: 438.

[9]Smirnov: 62.

[10]The most famous historian of the ecclesiastic/apologetic school was E. E. Golubinskij. Other, lesser-known works which may be assigned to this school are: M. N. Berežkov, Blažennyj Igor' Ol'govič (Černigov, 1893); V. V. Kosatkin, Sv. blag. velikij knjaz' Georgij Vsevolodovič (Vladimir, 1882); I. Verjužskij, Prep. Dmitrij, igumen priluckij (Vologda, 1879). See L. N. Majkov's comments on the founding of the Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti in ŽMNP 1877, April: 105-115. For a bibliography of the publications of the society see N. A. Samorukova, Spravočnik sokraščenij prinjatyx v istoričeskoj literature (M., 1964): 27-34.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hagiography has come to be viewed as just another tale or story, a source of data for linguists and, more recently, the object of semiotic analysis, with little sense of its unique function in the Middle Ages.[11]

One reason for this state of affairs is the fact that the lives of Russian saints are relatively poor sources of information. Of course the vita/bios genre was never intended to be a source of facts. Nevertheless, viewed as a whole, Russian hagiography contains more rhetoric, and more loci communes than Latin or Greek hagiography. Ključevskij

---

[11] N. I. Serebrjanskij, "Drevne-russkie knjaževskie žitija; obzor redakcii i teksty", COIDR 1915, kniga 3, 1-295 + 1 - 186; S. A. Bugoslavskij, "Ukraino-rus'ki pam'jatki XI-XVIII v.v. pro knjaziv Borisa ta Gliba", ANURSR, Istoryčno-filologičnij viddil, Zbirnik, 77 (1928); D. I. Abramovič, Žitija sv. mučenikov Borisa i Gleba i služby im (Petrograd, 1916); Idem, ed., Kievo-pečerskij paterik (SPb., 1911; Kiev, 1930); V. Jablonskij, Paxomij Serb i ego agiografičeskie sočinenija (SPb., 1908). For an attempt to use hagiography as an historical source see I. U. Budovnic, Monastyri na Rusi i bor'ba s nimi krest'jan v XIV-XVI vekax po "žitijam svjatyx" (M., 1966). For recent literary and linguistic studies of hagiography see: V. A. Kučkin, "Skazanie o smerti mitropolita Petra", TODRL 18 (1962): 59-79; Idem, "Iz literaturnogo nasledija Paxomija Serba; staršaja redakcija žitija mitropolita Alekseja", ANSSSR, Institut slavjanovedenija, Istočniki i istoriografija slavjanskogo srednevekov'ja (M., 1967): 242-257; Idem, Povesti o Mixaile tverskom (M., 1974); L. A. Dmitriev, Povesti o žitii Mixaila Klopskogo (M. -L., 1958); Idem, Žitijnie povesti russkogo severa (L., 1973); O. Appel, Die Vita des heiligen Sergij von Radonež; Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte (Munich, 1972); F. Siefkes, Zur Form des Žitije Feodosija; vergleichende Studien zur byzantinischen und altrussischen Literatur (Berlin, Zurich, Gehlen, 1970). J. Boertnes, "Hagiographical Transformation in the Old Russian Lives of Saints", Scando-Slavica 18 (1972); 5-12; D. Freydank, "Die altrussische Hagiographie als Gegenstand der Literaturwissenschaft", Zeitschrift fuer Slawistik 23, No. 1 (1978): 67-75. One of the few exceptions to this trend is the remarkable book by A. P. Kadlubovskij, "Očerki po istorii drevne-russkoj literatury žitij svjatyx", Russkij filologičeskij vestnik 37 (1897); 117-159, 39 (1898): 96-159, 40 (1898): 176-192, 45 (1901): 35-70, 46 (1901): 5-128, 47 (1902): 1-102, and separately, Warsaw, 1902. For further bibliography on Russian hagiography see Smirnov: 61-62, note 2; Ikonnikov 2: 1765-1776, and under the individual saints in I. U. Budovnic, Slovar' russkoj, ukrainskoj, belorusskoj pis'mennosti i literatury do XVIII veka (M., 1962).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

came to this conclusion at the end of his study, which is why he placed such emphasis on the posthumous miracles.[12]

Consequently I have chosen a second, and hopefully more fruitful approach: to study the cults or veneration of two saints rather than their lives. The veneration of saints touched every aspect of Christian life in the Middle Ages, from literature to liturgy, art, architecture and daily life. The old and the young, the mighty and the humble looked to the saints for aid, cures, justice, protection on military campaigns, in childbirth, and at harvest-time. The focus of a saint's cult was his tomb, or rather his corporeal remains, which were usually considered to be uncorrupted and sweet-smelling.[13]

The history of a particular cult, its origin, development and significance in society, can be particularly instructive. Some saints were venerated and worked miracles from the moment of their deaths, but ceased to be actively venerated thereafter. Others lay buried and forgotten for centuries until their memory was suddenly revived and a cult appeared. Some cults spread among several dioceses or principalites and were accepted by all classes of society; others were extremely limited geographically and socially. In each case the faith of those who venerated the saint was the same; however the conditions under which this faith appeared and spread can tell us something about the society of

---

[12] Ključevskij, Drevne-russkie žitija svjatyx: 402-438.

[13] See in this regard R. W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, England, 1970): 30-31.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the period.[14]

One incident from the reign of Ivan III will serve to illustrate this point. The Sophia Second Chronicle relates that in 1474 a man digging a grave in a Moscow cemetery was struck deaf and dumb. He went to the Cathedral of the Dormition, which was then under construction, and prayed at the tombs of the Metropolitans, including Petr, who had worked many miracles, but to no avail. Finally, when he prayed at the tomb of Metropolitan Theognostos, he was miraculously cured. Word of this miracle reached Metropolitan Gerontij and Ivan III who were "seized with disbelief and did not order the bells to be rung or the city to glorify him (Theognostos)". When the Cathedral of the Dormition was finally completed in 1479 Theognostos' remains were placed in the ground, thereby preventing the faithful from venerating him.[15]

The sources for the history of a saint's cult are diverse in nature. The saint's life is usually of secondary importance, since it ends with the saint's death and does not deal with his veration. However the biography can provide background information on the nature and origin of the cult. The veneration of Theodosij, for example, spread beyond the walls of the Monastery of the Caves because of the saint's activities during his lifetime, in particular his defense of Prince

---

[14]The Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye was the first to emphasize the study of the cults of saints as such. For an excellent new study of this type see J.-C. Schmitt, Le saint Levrier; Guinéfort, guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1979).

[15]PSRL 6: 198. E. E. Golubinskij believed that Metropolitan Gerontij and Ivan III put a stop to the veneration of Theognostos because he was Greek; see Istorija russkoj cerkvi (M., 1901-1911) II/1: 193.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Izjaslav Jaroslavič and his contacts among the Kievan aristocracy, which are recounted in his Life.

The manuscript tradition of a saint's life also provides valuable information. The date of composition of the life indicates some degree of veneration, if only by the saint's devoted disciples. The appearance of several manuscripts or redactions of a saint's life within a short span of time suggests a considerably greater cult. However not every life is of equal value. The biography of a prince included in a chronicle is not the same as a biography in a liturgical book. The former is proof of a literary or historical interest, the second of a regular, public, liturgical veneration of the prince's memory, permitting us to speak of a cult.

The most important source for the history of a saint's cult is the account of the discovery, inspection or transferral of a saint's remains and of the miracles worked by them which is appended to the saint's life. Many of these accounts include the year in which a particular incident occurred, or refer to a prince, bishop or other historical figure permitting us to date the event in an approximate manner. Moreover some of these events can tell us much about the extent or nature of a cult: The fact that in the late eleventh century a woman came some 500 kilometers from Dorogobuž to Vyšgorod to seek a cure at the tomb of Boris and Gleb tells us a great deal about the importance of the cult of the princes at that time.[16]

---

[16] Uspenskij sbornik XII-XIII vv., ed. by S. I. Kotkov (M., 1971): 64-65.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The present study does not attempt to explain the nature of the miracles which occurred after a saint's death. The author assumes that most of the stories of miracles recount specific, historical events. The exact nature of these events will be interpreted differently by different historians: an act of divine grace, a hallucination, the curing of a psychosomatic illness. Regardless of the interpretation, the miracle involves the faith of one or more people and is therefore proof that the saint was venerated.

Not all the accounts of the discovery of a saint's remains or of the miracles worked by them can be accepted at face value. Some tales are completely apocryphal, while the chronology of others is unreliable, either because of unintentional confusion due to the lack of sources, or because of a conscious attempt to make the cult seem older than it in fact was. There is no methodology for analyzing these accounts; the historian can only make educated guesses based on knowledge acquired from dozens of miracles, uncoveries and translations, and from the historical background of the period in which these events purportedly occurred.

Due to the predominant interest in the lives of saints rather than their cults, relatively little attention has been paid to another class of manuscripts which can provide valuable evidence. These are liturgical books which contain the offices to saints or calendars of church holidays. These manuscripts are of little interest to scholars of old Russian literature but provide reliable proof that a saint was venerated, at least formally. Since the number of these manuscripts is quite large, they permit us to trace the cult of a saint chronologically and even

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

geographically, long after miracles ceased to occur.

These liturgical manuscripts were used by E. E. Golubinskij and V. Vasil'ev in their histories of the canonization of Russian saints and by Archimandrite Sergij in his catalogue of the feasts of the Eastern Church. However they were used unsystematically. In this study I have relied more heavily on this historical source, and attempted to make an exhaustive list of those manuscripts which provide information on the veneration of Russian saints. This list is found in Appendix One.[17]

Information on the cults of saints can also be derived from other sources: icons, churches dedicated to a saint, personal names taken in honor of a saint and references to a saint's feast in the chronicles. All provide indications of when, where and by whom a saint was venerated. An excellent example is provided by the cult of Boris and Gleb. Svjatoslav the son of Jaroslav the Wise named his sons, who were probably born in the 1050's, Gleb, Roman and David, while Vseslav of Polock named his sons Roman, David, Boris and Gleb, proving the existence of this cult among a particular social group at a particular time.[18]

The present study is devoted to the history of the veneration of SS. Antonij and Theodosij, the founders of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. There are a number of reasons for choosing these two saints from

---

[17]Golubinskij, Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx; V. Vasil'ev, "Istorija kanonizacii russkix svjatyx"; Sergij, Polnyj mesjacoslov vostoka, 2nd ed. (Vladimir, 1901).

[18]A. Poppe, "O vremeni zarožděnija kul'ta Borisa i Gleba", Russia Mediaevalis 1 (1973): 11-15.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the list of those who deserve the historian's attention. Firstly, Antonij was, in my opinion, the subject of an erroneous historical interpretation which began with the theories of A. A. Šaxmatov and M. D. Priselkov. Secondly, both saints lived in the eleventh century, permitting us to trace their cults throughout the entire mediaeval period, to compare them with the cults of other saints and to observe the significance and use of the Kievan heritage in Northern Rus' during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Finally, it is appropriate to study SS. Antonij and Theodosij since relatively little attention has been directed during the last fifty years to the history of the Church in Rus' with the exception of a few special topics such as the baptism of Rus' and the heretics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The reader should remember that the present study is devoted to tracing the development of the veneration of SS. Antonij and Theodosij during the course of four centuries. Although such a history must deal with a number of textual problems and major historical issues, it cannot attempt to provide a history of monasticism in Rus' nor a final explanation of the gensis of the Primary Chronicle and the Kievan Caves Patericon.

I would like to thank a number of people who encouraged and advised me during the course of my research: Professors Alexander Schenker and Paul Bushkovitch of Yale; Professor Robert Crummey of the University of California, Davis; the librarians of the Yale University Library, the Lenin Library in Moscow and the Manuscript Division of the Lenin Library. Special thanks should be given to Professor Patrick Geary of the University of Florida, Gainesville, whose research on Latin hagiography had much to do with my undertaking this study and Professor Andrzej Poppe

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the University of Warsaw who continually guided me and patiently corrected my errors.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter One

The Theories of Šaxmatov and Priselkov

Before the end of the nineteenth century little scholarly attention had been paid to SS. Antonij and Theodosij of the Kievan Caves Monastery. The Primary Chronicle and the Kievan Caves Patericon described their role in the founding of the monastery, and they were venerated as saints. Most people believed that their remains had been lost during the destruction of Kiev by the Mongols. Nestor's Life of Theodosij was not only one of the most important works of Kievan literature, it was preserved in one of the oldest manuscripts, the Uspenskij sbornik written in the early thirteenth century. Although there was no life of Antonij from the Kievan era, a short tale about the Monastery of the Caves from the Primary Chronicle served as that saint's synaxary biography.[1]

This situation suddenly changed with the publication of an article entitled The Life of Antonij and the Caves Chronicle. This

---

[1] See Uspenskij sbornik: 4-7 for the earlier editions of the MS. The remains of Antonij and Theodosij were to be seen in the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev from the eighteenth century on, and perhaps as early as 1590, but not everyone was convinced that they were genuine; see ČOIDR, 1879, kniga 2: 126; M. Zaxarčenko, Kiev teper' i prežde (Kiev, 1888): 98-99, 119; E. E. Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi: I/2: 390; Idem, Istorija kanonizacij svjatyx: 60, footnote 2. For the abbreviated Life of Antonij see A. Kubarev, "O paterike pečerskom", ČOIDR, 1847, kniga 9: 18-20; Afonskij paterik, ili žizneopisanie svjatyx na svjatoj afonskoj gore prosijavšix, 7th ed. (M., 1897) 2: 77-82.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was one of a series of studies by A. A. Šaxmatov on the sources and origin of the earliest chronicles which culminated in the seminal work Inquiries into the Oldest Chronicle Compilations and the attempted reconstruction of the original text of the Primary Chronicle.[2] Since the theories advanced in The Life of Antonij not only became the foundation for all subsequent scholarship on Antonij but continue to influence discussions of the origin of the Primary Chronicle, the Kievan Caves Patericon, the veneration of Theodosij and the historical background of the eleventh century they should be examined in detail.

In the Life of Antonij Šaxmatov asserted that a life of Antonij had been written in the Kievan era and that, although it was no longer extant, he could reconstruct its contents and trace its influence as a source for the Primary Chronicle. Šaxmatov's point of departure for reconstructing the lost Life was the Kievan Caves Patericon. He noticed that in seven different places Simon and Polikarp mention a Life (žitie) of Antonij:

1) In the Tale of the Founding of the Church of the Caves Monastery, Bishop Simon says: "you will find more about this in the Life of Antonij. The Life of Theodosij tells about the appearance of a pillar of fire from heaven to earth".

2) In an epistle to Polikarp Simon praises the Caves Monastery because of the number of monks who left the cloister to become bishops, adding: "this I myself read in the Life of St. Antonij".

---

[2] A. A. Šaxmatov, "Žitie Antonija i pečerskaja letopis'", ŽMNP, 1898/March: 105-149; Idem, Razyskanija o drevnejšix letopisnyx svodax (SPb., 1908); Idem, Povest' vremennyx let (Petrograd, 1916); Idem, "Povest' vremennyx let i ee istočniki", TODRL 4 (1940): 9-150.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3) In the same epistle Bishop Simon, having concluded the story of St. Onisifor, a Caves monk, says: "and for other such stories, O brother Polikarp, turn to the Life of St. Antonij".

4) In another tale Simon defends his account of Vavila, a Caves monk who was miraculously cured, by saying: "whosoever doubts this story may read about it in the Lives of the holy fathers Antonij and Theodosij and he will believe".

5) At the end of the tale about the monk Agapit Polikarp expresses his willingness to write about other brothers of the Caves Monastery "as did Nestor, who wrote about the blessed brothers Dem'jan, Eremij, Matfej, and Isakij in his chronicle. Their lives are all included in the Life of Antonij, although abbreviated".

6) Polikarp concludes the long and important story of Moisej the Hungarian by stating: "this too is written in the Life of our holy father Antonij, how Moisej came in the days of Antonij and died".

7) The last, and perhaps most interesting reference is found in Polikarp's story of the monks Theodor and Vasilij. Theodor was arrested by Prince Mstislav Svjatopolkovič (died 1099) and questioned about a horde of gold and silver. "The prince asked: 'Is there much gold, silver and many vessels, O father, and who is said to have hidden them?' Theodor replied: 'The Life of Antonij relates that there is a Varangian horde, since the vessels are Latin, and for this reason the cave is called the Varangian Cave to this day".[3]

Saxmatov was not the first to notice these references to a biography

---

[3] KPP: 8, 102, 106, 112, 133, 148, 169.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of Antonij: Over fifty years earlier Aleksej Kubarev, one of the first scholars to study the Kievan Caves Patericon systematically, had listed these same passages but only concluded that Simon and Polikarp had used "some life of Antonij" as a source.[4] Šaxmatov was the first to pursue the matter further. His conviction that Simon and Polikarp were referring to a specific, lost work of Kievan literature was strengthened when he realized that there seem to be two conflicting traditions about the early years of the Kievan Caves Monastery.

The story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named found in the Primary Chronicle under the year 1051, for example, states that a true monastic community was formed when twelve brothers had gathered around Antonij; the Life of Theodosij says that this occurred when their number was fifteen.[5] The former says that "brothers began to flock to him (Antonij) and he received them and tonsured them" implying that Antonij actually tonsured the brothers himself. The Life of Theodosij however specifically states that only Nikon was a priest and could tonsure those who would become monks.[6]

---

[4]A. Kubarev, "O paterike pečerskom": 13-15; Idem, "Opisanie xaratejnogo spiska paterika pečerskogo" COIDR 1847/9; 23-40; Idem, "O redakcijax paterika pečerskogo voobšče, v otvet na stat'ju 'obzor redakcii kievopečerskogo paterika preimuščestvenno drevnix'" Ibid. 1858/3: 95-128.

[5]PSRL 1: 157, 2: 145; Uspenskij sbornik: 86. This discrepancy could be reconciled if one assumed that the author of the account in the Primary Chronicle was using a locus communis, that is, Christ and the Apostles as a model for Antonij and the first twelve brothers.

[6]PSRL 1: 157, 2: 145; Uspenskij sbornik: 80. It is possible that the author of the account in the Primary Chronicle did not mean that Antonij personally tonsured the novices.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Further on the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named clearly says that the first monastery was built above ground with a large wooden church, cells and a wall when Varlaam was abbot; Nestor says just as firmly that Theodosij was abbot at the time.[7] The former says that Theodosij obtained the rule of Theodore of Studion from a certain Byzantine monk named Michael of that monastery who came to Kiev with Metropolitan Georgios. On the other hand Nestor maintains that Theodosij had to send one of the brothers to Constantinople for a copy.[8]

Another contradiction which seems to reflect different traditions involves two passages in the Primary Chronicle. The story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named relates that Antonij, wishing to continue his life as a hermit, chose Varlaam to be abbot of the small monastic community and then withdrew to a cave where he remained without leaving for forty years. This fact is confirmed by the Life of Theodosij, although Nestor does not specify the period of forty years.[9] However, according to another tale in the Primary Chronicle Antonij was forced to leave Kiev in 1069 to escape the wrath of Prince Izjaslav; he fled at night to Černigov and later founded a monastery

---

[7]PSRL 1: 158-159, 2: 147; Uspenskij sbornik: 89.

[8]PSRL 1: 160, 2: 148; Uspenskij sbornik: 89. Solutions to this contradiction were advanced by Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi I/2: 582-583 (including footnote 2), 608; B. A. Čagovec, "Zizn' i sočinenija prep. Theodosija", Universitetskie izvestija, Kiev, 41, No. 6 (1901): 40-47.

[9]PSRL 1: 158, 2: 146; Uspenskij sbornik: 86.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dedicated to the Virgin near the city.[10]

Finally there are two versions of the beginning of Antonij's monastic career. The story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named in the Primary Chronicle states that Antonij journeyed to Mt. Athos, became a monk, returned to Kiev and settled in the cave which Ilarion had used for private prayer before becoming metropolitan. In other words Antonij's monastic career began in or after 1051. Yet in a version of the same story found in the Kassian Second Redaction of the Kievan Caves Patericon compiled in Kiev in 1462 we read that Antonij made two trips to Mt. Athos. The first took place in the time of Vladimir: Antonij went to Constantinople and Mt. Athos, was tonsured, returned to Kiev and settled in a cave dug by Varangians. Then, due to the civil wars following the death of Vladimir he fled to Athos again, returning only after 1051 to settle in Ilarion's cave.[11]

Šaxmatov concluded that the source of these contradictions could only be the lost Life of Antonij mentioned seven times in the Kievan Caves Patricon. He attempted to reconstruct this lost work of Kievan literature just as he would later attempt to reconstruct the entire Primary Chronicle. Šaxmatov believed that the lost Life of Antonij began with an account of Antonij's trip to Mt. Athos in the time of Vladimir and his return to the Varangian cave. It included

---

[10]PSRL 1: 193, 2: 185. KPP: 186.

[11]PSRL 1: 155-157, 2: 143-145; KPP: 16-20; R. Pope, The Literary History of the Kievan Caves Paterikon up to 1500 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970; Ann Arbor, University Microfilms): 358-359.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the story of Moisej the Hungarian similar to that now in the Kievan Caves Patericon; said that Varlaam was appointed abbot when there were twelve, not fifteen brothers, and that Varlaam initiated the first construction above ground. The Life would also have contained the story of the building of the stone church of the Caves Monastery and the other tales in the Kievan Caves Patericon which contain references to the Life of Antonij.[12]

Not long after this Šaxmatov revised his first analysis, and expanded the list of stories which had been included in the lost Life of Antonij. He now believed that it had included all of the stories mentioned above plus information on Bolesław Chrobry of Poland; the campaign of Jaroslav the Wise against the Mazovians; the marriage of Jaroslav's sister to Casimir of Poland and of Jaroslav's eldest son Izjaslav to Casimir's sister. He even went so far as to date the composition of the lost Life to 1073 or shortly thereafter.[13]

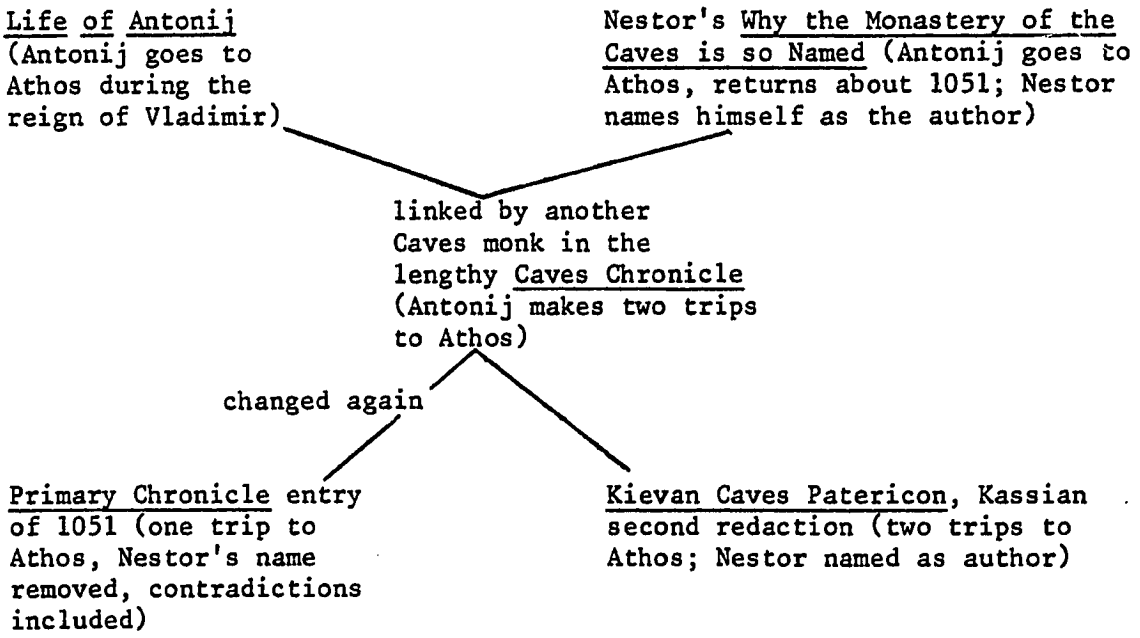
---

[12] Šaxmatov, "Žitie Antonija": 141-142; KPP: 1-5, 8, 102, 106, 112, 133, 142-149, 169. D. I. Abramovič explained the contradictions by saying that Nestor changed the facts in his historical work to suit the requirements of hagiography; see his article, "Issledovanie o Kievo-pečerskom paterike kak istoriko-literaturnom pamjatnike", IORJaS 6, kniga 3 (1901): 221-226.

[13] Šaxmatov, Razyskanija: 277-289; Idem, "Žitie Antonija": 112-114. Saxmatov noted that the Life of Antonij had to be written before 1099, since the monk Theodor mentioned it to Prince Mstislav who died in that year. He also pointed to a phrase in the Patericon which says: "... just as the blessed Nestor wrote about the blessed fathers Dem'jan Eremij, Matfej and Isakij in the chronicle. All their lives are included in the Life of St. Antonij, although abbreviated...thus in the fifteenth year of your abbacy that was said which had not been remembered for 160 years"; KPP: 133. Šaxmatov knew that Akindin was Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves in 1231, and believed that 160 years referred to the time which had elapsed since the Life of Antonij was written, and concluded that the work was composed in the year of Antonij's death or immediately thereafter.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As for the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named now in the Primary Chronicle under the year 1051, Šaxmatov stated emphatically that it was written by Nestor the author of the Life of Theodosij; he also believed that it was originally much longer, a true history of the Monastery of the Caves, and that it included much of the information found in the present chronicle entries of 1037, 1074 and 1091.[14] In Šaxmatov's opinion the contradictions between the two works by Nestor the hagiographer arose as a result of the complex manner in which the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named was transmitted in the manuscripts:


Life of Antonij (Antonij goes to Athos during the reign of Vladimir)
Nestor's Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named (Antonij goes to Athos, returns about 1051; Nestor names himself as the author)
linked by another Caves monk in the lengthy Caves Chronicle (Antonij makes two trips to Athos)
changed again
Primary Chronicle entry of 1051 (one trip to Athos, Nestor's name removed, contradictions included)
Kievan Caves Patericon, Kassian second redaction (two trips to Athos; Nestor named as author)

---

[14] Šaxmatov noted that the chronicle entry of 1037 which praises Jaroslav's Christian activities is similar to the beginning of the entry of 1051 which discusses Jaroslav's love of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Berestovo. Moreover the entry of 1051 ends with the statement: "but of Theodosij's life we shall speak later". The attribution of the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named to Nestor the hagiographer is generally rejected. The story concludes

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Since Šaxmatov was interested above all in the origin and sources of the Primary Chronicle his discussion of the Life of Antonij was limited in nature. He felt that he had proven its existence beyond any doubt and had reconstructed its contents, but did not try to explain who had written the Life, why it was written and how it could have survived at least until the time of the monk Kassian and then disappeared. His sole observation was that the lost Life seemed to be rather Grecophile in tone.[15]

These questions were soon answered by M. D. Priselkov, whose reinterpretation of the Kievan era was based to a great degree on an uncritical use of the results of Šaxmatov's research. Priselkov viewed Kievan history in part as a conflict between Byzantine political and

---

with the statement that Theodosij "accepted each who came to him. To him I too came, poor and unworthy slave, and he accepted me in my seventeenth year". However in the Life of Theodosij, in which Nestor twice identifies himself as the author, we learn that Nestor was tonsured by Abbot Stefan, who succeeded Theodosij after the latter's death in 1704, and that he never knew Theodosij at all. See Šaxmatov, "Žitie Antonija": 124-133, 139-141; PSRL 1: 160, 2: 149; Uspenskij sbornik: 71-72, 134. There are also factual and stylistic differences between Nestor's Life of Theodosij and the chronicle entry of 1051. For a recent, thorough review of the entire question of Nestor's authorship of the Primary Chronicle see A. G. Kuz'min, Načal'nye etapy drevnorusskogo letopisanija (M., 1977): 133-134. Kuz'min notes that in an extremely rare article published at the very end of his career Šaxmatov finally conceded that Nestor the hagiographer was not the author of the lengthy work which included the chronicle accounts of 1051, 1074 and 1091; Ibid.: 142.

[15] In "Žitie Antonija": 149, Šaxmatov said that the Life disappeared in the fifteenth century, while in Razyskanija: 257, he implied that this occurred in the sixteenth. Šaxmatov saw indications of Grecophilism in the fact that Antonij was tonsured on Mt. Athos, that Moisej the Hungarian was tonsured by an itinerant Byzantine priest, and that the stone church of the Caves Monastery was built by Byzantine architects who brought relics of Byzantine saints to put in the walls; see "Žitie Antonija": 113, 135; Razyskanija: 265-268; KPP: 5-6, 146.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cultural hegemony and Slavic nationalism. This approach led to a number of startling theories: He believed that the Church of Rus' had been dependent on the autocephalous Archbishop of Ochrid in Bulgaria until 1039 and that Nikon the Great of the Monastery of the Caves was none other than Ilarion after he had been forced to step down from the metropolitan's throne.[16]

Priselkov's approach extended to the canonization of saints in the Kievan era, which he viewed as an expression of Slavic nationalism and independence, tendencies which would naturally be opposed by Constantinople and its representatives, the Greek metropolitans of Kiev. He believed that Jaroslav the Wise had obtained the canonization of Boris and Gleb in the period when the Church of Rus' was dependent on the Archbishop of Ochrid, but that he had been thwarted in his attempt to canonize Ol'ga and the Varangian martyrs mentioned in the Primary Chronicle under the year 983.[17]

According to Priselkov Nikon, that is Ilarion, became Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves in 1076 and promptly made it a "hearth" of Slavic nationalist sentiment. One of Nikon's first concerns was to obtain the canonization of Vladimir, the baptiser of Rus', and of Theodosij, the true founder of monasticism in Rus'. However Metropolitan Ioann, a Greek, was as opposed to the canonization of Vladimir and

---

[16]M. D. Priselkov, Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii kievskoj Rusi X-XII vv. (SPb., 1913), especially 100-111, 172-184; Idem, "Mitropolit Ilarion v sxime Nikon, kak borec za nezavisimuju russkuju cerkov'", in Sergievu Feodoroviču Platonovu; učeniki, druz'ja, počitateli (SPb., 1911): 188-201.

[17]Priselkov, Očerki: 66-74, 303.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Theodosij as his predecessor had been to the canonization of Ol'ga the Varangian martyrs.[18]

Nikon supposedly reacted by refusing to consecrate the stone church dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin which had been founded by Theodosij until Theodosij himself was canonized. For their part the clerics of the metropolitan's court composed the Korsun Legend and the Life of Antonij to undermine the cults of Vladimir and Theodosij respectively. The former was an answer to Nikon's Life of Vladimir; it depicted Vladimir as a lawless libertine unworthy of canonization. The Life of Antonij, on the other hand, rewrote the entire history of the Monastery of the Caves to minimize Theodosij's role and to present the monastery as an offshoot of Byzantine monasticism.[19]

The first deception incorporated into the Life of Antonij supposedly involved the place in which Antonij was tonsured. Priselkov believed, apparently as a result of his theory that the Church of Rus' was dependent upon the Archbishop of Ochrid, that Antonij had actually been tonsured in Bulgaria. He asserted, however, that the Greek bookmen who wrote the Life of Antonij suppressed the truth and depicted Antonij as a disciple of the Byzantine Church. They said that he had been tonsured on Mt. Athos, had brought the blessing of the Holy Mount to the monks of Rus' and that he, not Theodosij, had instituted the Rule of Theodore of Studion. According to Priselkov the same Greek scribes

---

[18]Ibid.: 219-222, 227-232, 238-284.

[19]Ibid.: 235-236, 264-268. The question of the consecration of the stone Church of the Dormition will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fabricated the story that the stone church of the Monastery of the Caves was built by Byzantine architects, and that Byzantine choirmasters instructed the brothers in liturgical chant.[20]

Priselkov concluded by reinterpreting a number of extremely important passages in the Primary Chronicle concerning the veneration of Theodosij. He stated that the brothers of the Monastery of the Caves reacted to the fabrications of the Life of Antonij by establishing a cult of Theodosij: in 1091, when there was no metropolitan in Kiev, Theodosij's body was unearthed "with great secrecy at night". When the remains were found whole and uncorrupted a "national ecclesiastical festival was organized". Theodosij was finally officially canonized in 1108 at the insistence of Prince Svjatopolk. Since the Life of Antonij was no longer needed to oppose the veneration of Theodosij, and was worthless as an historical source because of its falsifications, it ceased to be copied and was finally forgotten altogether.[21]

The theories of Šaxmatov and Priselkov concerning Antonij and Theodosij may be summed up as follows:

1) The Life (žitie) of Antonij mentioned by Simon and Polikarp was a specific work of Kievan literature; although it is no longer extant its contents can be reconstructed from other works which made use of it.

2) Theodosij, like Boris and Gleb, was venerated as a national,

---

[20]Ibid.: 167-169, 264-273. Priselkov dated the composition of the Life of Antonij to 1087-1095.

[21]Ibid.: 235-236, 281-282, 290-300, 316-317. For the events mentioned in the Primary Chronicle see PSRL 1: 209-211, 283, 2: 200-203, 259-260; they will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

anti-Byzantine saint or hero. Theodosij's canonization was opposed by the metropolitans of Kiev, who had the Life of Antonij written in the 1070's or 1080's to undermine his cult. This dispute resulted in a delay in the consecration of the stone church of the Monastery of the Caves.

3) Theodosij's remains were unearthed in secret in 1091 when there was no metropolitan in Kiev, and he was canonized in 1108 against the wishes of Metropolitan Nikephoros.

4) Antonij was canonized at some point before the thirteenth century when he was called a saint by Simon and Polikarp.[22]

This simplified summary of the theories of Šaxmatov and Priselkov does not do justice to the erudition of these two scholars. Despite the anachronistic nature of some aspects of their interpretation it has exerted considerable influence on subsequent scholarship. Serious reference works continue to list the Life of Antonij as a lost work of Kievan literature and scholars of the Kievan era still refer to Slavic national saints and Russophile and Grecophile ecclesiastical factions. The canonization of Boris and Gleb, for example, is seen as a "triumph of Jaroslav's national policy", his "struggle for independence" and his desire to "elevate the international authority of Rus'" against Byzantine domination.[23]

---

[22]Neither Šaxmatov nor Priselkov made a firm statement to this effect, but it follows from their other arguments. Golubinskij also concluded that Antonij was canonized by the thirteenth century, although he had serious reservations; see Istorija russkoj cerkvi II/2: 589 and Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx: 59-60.

[23]B. Widera, "Jaroslavs des Weisen Kampf um die kirchliche Unabhaengigkeit von Byzanz", Aus der byzantinischen Arbeit der DDR, ed. by J. Irmscher (Berlin, 1957) 1: 158-175; N. N. Il'in, Letopisnaja

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To date serious criticism has only been directed at Priselkov's theory of the Bulgarian origins of the Church of Rus' and of the supposed anti-Byzantine policy of Jaroslav the Wise.[24] Only a few scholars have discussed the Life of Antonij and these have all proceeded from the assumption that the Life did exist in the Kievan era. Their criticism has been limited to revising certain aspects of the contents, date, or supposed Grecophile tenor of the work.[25]

---

stat'ja 6523 goda i ee istočnik (M., 1957): 9; D. S. Lixačev, Povest' vremennyx let (M.-L., 1950) 2: 64-66; Idem, Russkie letopisi i ix kul'turno-istoričeskoe značenie (M.-L., 1947): 44-58. These same scholars assert, enigmatically, that despite fierce Byzantine opposition the cult of Boris and Gleb "quickly passed beyond the bounds of Rus'" and was accepted in Byzantium, Armenia and Moravia. For works which mention the Life of Antonij see Kuz'min, Načal'nye etapy: 169-183; F. Bubner, Das Kiever Paterikon; eine Untersuchung zu seiner Struktur und den literarischen Quellen (Augsburg, 1969): 57-59; I. U. Budovnic. Slovar' russkoj, ukrainskoj, belorusskoj pis'mennosti i literatury do XVIII veka (M., 1962): 99; N. K. Gudzij, Istorija drevnorusskoj literatury 6th ed. (M., 1956): 105; M. K. Karger, Drevnij Kiev (M.-L., 1958-1961) 2:344; A. Stender-Petersen, Geschichte der russischen Literatur (Munich, 1957) 1:150; I. Smolitsch, Russisches Moenchtum; Entstehung, Entwicklung und Wesen, 988-1917 (Wuerzburg, 1953): 56; M. Heppel, "The 'Vita Antonij', a Lost Source of the 'Patericon of the Monastery of the Caves'" Byzantinoslavica 13 (1952-1953): 46-58.

[24] L. Mueller, Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status und der jurisdiktionellen Abhaengigkeit der russischen Kirche vor 1039 (Cologne, 1959): 12-17; A. Poppe, "Russko-vizantijskie cerkovnopolitičeskie otnošenija v seredine XI v." Istorija SSSR 1970 No. 3: 108-124; Idem, "Uwagi o najstarszych dziejach kościoła na Rusi" Przegląd historyczny 55 (1964): 369-391, 557-572; 56 (1965): 557-569.

[25] Bubner, Das Kiever Paterikon: 51-73; V. A. Parxomenko, "V kakoj mere bylo tendenciozno ne soxranivšeesja drevnejšee 'Žitie Antonija Pečerskogo'" IORJaS 19, kniga 1 (1914): 237-241; S. P. Rozanov, "K Voprosu o žitii prep. Antonija Pečerskogo" Ibid, 34-35. D. I. Abramovič was extremely skeptical of the theory of the lost Life of Antonij and believed that the Life "never existed as a separate and independent work of literature; there was only a series of materials touching on the life and feats of St. Antonij". Unfortunately Abramovič never analyzed Saxmatov's theory at length; see his "Issledovanie o Kievo-pečerskom paterike" IORJaS 7/3 (1902): 75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Any attempt to write the history of the veneration of Antonij and Theodosij must first deal with the prevailing interpretations of Šaxmatov and Priselkov. Since the groundwork upon which these interpretations rest is the theory of the lost Life of Antonij, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to analyzing this theory. Chapter Two will attempt to refute Priselkov's synthesis by retracing the beginning of the cult of Theodosij in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

Šaxmatov's theory of the lost Life of Antonij can be examined and criticized from three different standpoints: genre; the South Slavic manuscript tradition; the Russian liturgical tradition. We can begin by examining the theory on the basis of genre: Is the reconstructed Life of Antonij really a life/vita/bios? In other words, does the work conform to the norms imposed on the vita/bios genre by mediaeval literature?

The earliest hagiographic form was the passio/martyrion, which was not really a biography at all but, as the name implies, a brief story of the martyr's suffering and death. Since this form appeared when Christianity was still a religio illicita, information on the martyr's family and native city were frequently omitted to protect others from reprisals.

Somewhat later another form, the vita/bios, which developed from the biographies of late antiquity, appeared. The vita/bios included an account of the saint's birth and youth, his religious calling, spiritual and ascetic feats, wisdom, martyrdom or natural death, the discovery and translation of his remains and miracles worked by them. When information on some aspect of the saint's life was lacking, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hagiographer would either use standard hagiographic motifs (loci communes/topoi) or borrow passages from earlier saints' lives in order to create a full biography.[26]

The most important element common to the passio/martyrion and the vita/bios was the account of the saint's death. These accounts are characterized by their extreme precision, usually giving the place, year, month, day and sometimes even the hour of the saint's death. This information was included because the saint was remembered and venerated in the liturgy on the day of his death. When a long vita or bios of a saint was shortened for inclusion in the liturgical books known as synaxaries, from which it was read on the saint's feast day, the story of the saint's death with all chronological details was always included.

---

[26] H. G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (Munich, 1977): 267-275; H. Mertel, Die biographische Form der griechischen Heiligenleben (Munich, 1909), especially 90-98; H. Delehaye, Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1921); X. Loparev, "Vizantijskie žitija svjatyx VIII-IX vekov" VV 17 (1910): 1-43. For a wider discussion of the question of genres in old Russian literature, including comments on the lives of saints, see: D. Čiževskij, "On the Question of Genres in Old Russian Literature" Harvard Slavic Studies 2 (1954): 105-115; Idem. "Studien zur russischen Hagiographie" Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch 2 (1952): 22-49; Bubner, Das Kiever Paterikon: 43-46; I. P. Eremin, Literatura drevnej Rusi; etjudy i xarakteristiki (M.-L., 1966): especially 28-41, 144-163, 234-244, F. Lillienfeld, "Die aeltesten russischen Heilingenlegenden; Studien zu den Anfaengen der russischen Hagiographie und ihr Verhaeltnis zum byzantinischen Beispiel", Aus der byzantinischen Arbeit der DDR 1: 235-271; R. Jagoditsch, "Zum Begriff der 'Gattungen' in der altrussischen Literatur", Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch 6 (1958): 113-137; N. W. Ingham, "The Limits of Secular Biography in Medieval Slavic Literature, Particularly Old Russian", in American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists, Prague, 1968, ed. by W. E. Harkins (The Hague, 1968) 2: 181-199; D. S. Lixačev, Poetika drevnerusskoj literatury, 2nd ed. (L., 1971) especially 42-71; A. S. Orlov, "Ob osobennostjax formy russkix voinskix povestej (končaja XVII v.) ČOIDR 1902, kniga 4: 1-50; the articles in TODRL 27 (1972): 3-320; V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, "Zadači izučenija 'agiografičeskogo stilja' drevnej Rusi" TODRL 20 (1964): 41-71.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There are many examples of both the expanded vita/bios and its shortened form, the synaxary biography, in the literature of mediaeval Rus'. For good examples of the latter we can turn to the lives of Prince Mixail of Černigov and his bojar Feodor, who were murdered at the Golden Horde in 1246; of Avraamij the merchant murdered in Great Bulgar on the Volga in 1229; of Arkadij, Bishop of Novgorod about 1160, or of Ignatij, a thirteenth century Bishop of Rostov.

Each of these synaxary lives is really a short account of the saint's death. Whether that death was violent or peaceful, the intention of the work is the same: to record the essential chronological facts which provide the basis for the saint's annual liturgical veneration. Although the Life of Bishop Arkadij is only about 200 words long and contains very few details about his episcopacy, about one quarter of the text is devoted to Arkadij's death and is extremely specific in nature. It ends with the statement: "After this he died in the year 6671, the second year of the indiction, September 18, in the evening. On the morrow, the 19th, his blessed body was buried". Similar information is found in the synaxary Life of Bishop Ignatij, which is about 400 words in length. Although it is clear that the hagiographer had a few facts about Ignatij at his disposal, he was careful to state that Ignatij died "in 6796, on May 28, a Friday, at Vespers".[27]

---

[27] For the Life of Mixail of Černigov see Serebrjanskij: 108-141 and texts 49-51. For Avraamij see PSRL 1: 452-453. The Life of Arkadij was published by A. S. Orlov, "Zitie sv. Arkadija", ČOIDR, 1899, kniga 3: 1-16 and in VMČ, September: 1247-1248. The year 6671 was of course not the second year of the indiction but the twelfth, but this error seems to have been preserved in all of the texts; see E. I. Kamenceva, Xronologija (M., 1967): 80-84. The Life of Ignatij is unpublished; the information was drawn from GBL, f. 304, MS. 745, Sbornik, 14th century, fols. 208 v. -210v.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Two of the best examples of the extended biography in mediaeval Russian hagiography are Nestor's Life of Boris and Gleb and his Life of Theodosij. Nestor was familiar with Byzantine hagiography, at least in translation, as is indicated by his use of the Life of Sabbas the Blessed. In both the Life of Boris and Gleb and the Life of Theodosij Nestor tried to fulfil the requirements of the vita/bios genre by writing full biographies of the saints, including information on their youth, mature years, death, miracles and the translation of their remains. This is even true for Boris and Gleb, about whose youth Nestor apparently knew nothing. Nevertheless he still wrote several pages about their piety and devotion to their father during their early years.[28]

Both the Life of Boris and Gleb and the Life of Theodosij show the same attention to the account of the saint's death and to chronological details which we observed in the short synaxary lives. The account of the death of Boris and Gleb in 1015 is the central and most

---

[28] A. A. Šaxmatov, "Neskol'ko slov o Nesterovom Žitii Theodosija" IORJaS 1/1 (1896): 46-65; D. I. Abramovič, "K voprosu ob istočnikax Nesterova Zitija prep. Theodosija Pečerskogo" IORJaS 3/1 (1898): 243-246; S. A. Bugoslavskij, "K voprosu o xaraktere i ob"eme literaturnoj dejatel'nosti prep. Nestora" IORJaS, 19/1 (1914): 147-155. F. Seifkes, Zur Form des Žitije Feodosija; vergleichende Studien zur byzantinischen und altrussischen Literatur (Berlin, Zuerich, Gehlen, 1970): 149-271. D. I. Abramovič, Zitija sv. mučenikov Borisa i Gleba i služby im (Petrograd, 1916): 5-7. The fact that Nestor does not mention the translation of Theodosij's remains in 1091 in his life of the saint is one of the main arguments for dating the composition of the Life of Theodosij to the 1080's. See below, Chapter Two. A superficial discussion of Nestor's attempt to write the Life of Theodosij so that it would conform to the requirements of Byzantine hagiography is found in V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, "Zadači izučenija 'agiografičeskogo stilja' drevnej Rusi" and I. P. Eremin, "K xarakteristike Nestora kak pisatelja" TODRL 17 (1961): 54-64 (in his Literatura drevnej Rusi: 28-41).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

detailed part of the entire work. The Life of Theodosij contains much more information on Theodosij's youth, religious calling and career in the Monastery of the Caves; nevertheless, Nestor devoted over 1,000 words out of a total of about 15,000 to Theodosij's passing. Although the account of Theodosij's death is marked by great attention to chronology and detail, Nestor ends the story by repeating the essential facts: "Our father Theodosij died in 6582, on May 3, a Saturday, when the sun was shining as he had foretold".[29]

If we examine the Life of Antonij as reconstructed by Šaxmatov we see, on the basis of the previous discussion, that it is not really a life at all, that is, it does not conform to the requirements of the vita/bios genre. The reconstructed Life of Antonij contains nothing, not even loci communes, about the saint's youth and religious calling, his ascetic feats, sayings and spiritual guidance, death and subsequent miracles. In fact, the reconstructed Life of Antonij only consists of a number of stories about monks of the Kievan Caves Monastery in which Antonij appears as a secondary figure or is mentioned in passing. This will become evident if we examine the contents of the Life of Antonij more closely.

The Life of Antonij should begin with an account of the saint's youth and religious calling, similar to those in the Life of Boris and Gleb and the Life of Theodosij. There are, however, no traces of any stories of this sort, with the exception of the brief account of Antonij's trip to Mt. Athos.

---

[29] Uspenskij sbornik: 131.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named now in the Primary Chronicle states that Antonij came from Ljubeč, went to Mt. Athos where he became a monk, returned to Rus' and settled in a cave which had been used by Ilarion until the latter was appointed metropolitan in 1051. It then adds that Antonij appointed Varlaam to be abbot when there were thirteen monks and retired to a cave where he lived for forty years. The remainder of the story continues with the history of the monastery under Varlaam and later Theodosij, culminating in the institution of the Rule of Theodore of Studion.[30]

A different version of this story is found in Kassian's second redaction of the Kievan Caves Patericon compiled in 1462. According to this version Antonij made two trips to Athos: the first during the time of Vladimir Svjatoslavič, after which he returned to Kiev and settled in a cave which had been used by Varangians. Then, because of the civil wars which followed the death of Vladimir, he fled to Athos again, returning only after 1051 to settle in Ilarion's cave. The remainder of the story is essentially the same in both versions.[31]

Clearly neither account contains information on Antonij's youth and religious calling such as we find in the Lives of Boris and Gleb and Theodosij. Nevertheless, Šaxmatov attached great significance to

---

[30] PSRL 1: 155-160, 2: 143-149.

[31] KPP: 16-20. The earliest redaction of the Kievan Caves Patericon, the Arsenij redaction of 1406, does not include the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named at all. All other redactions include the version found in the Primary Chronicle. The altered version is only found in Kassian's second redaction of 1462. See Pope, Literary History: 193-201, 216-217, 327, 358-359.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the second version of the beginning of the Monastery of the Caves. He believed that the reference to two trips to Mt. Athos proved that Kassian had used the Life of Antonij itself or else the Caves Chronicle, mentioned in the diagram above, in compiling his second redaction of the Patericon in 1462.[32]

A close comparison of the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named in the Primary Chronicle with the altered version in Kassian's second redaction of the Kievan Caves Patericon demonstrates that there is no proof that Kassian made use of an independent source. Appendix Two shows that the version in Kassian's second redaction is only a pastiche of the older story in the Primary Chronicle. The language of the Primary Chronicle has been modernized, and the account of Antonij's trip to Mt. Athos cleverly split, with half used for the first trip and half for the second. There are only a few substantive additions to Kassian's version: the statement that Theodosij came to the monastery and was tonsured; the epithets "saint", "reverend" and "great" applied to Antonij; the references to God and the Virgin instead of to God alone; and the reference to Nestor as the author.[33]

---

[32]"Žitie Antonija": 124-127.

[33]See Appendix Two. In 1851 P. Kazanskij reached the same conclusion, but his analysis was not particularly thorough and was apparently not noted by Šaxmatov; see "Razbor otveta g-na P. B. na novyj vopros o Nestore", Otečestvennye zapiski 74 (1851), Smes': 80-99. This conclusion was also supported by D. I. Abramovič, "Issledovanie", IORJaS 7, kniga 1 (1902): 238-244, 258-261 and S. A. Bugoslavskij, "K voprosu o xaraktere i ob"eme literaturnoj dejatel'nosti prep. Nestora", Ibid. 19, kniga 1 (1914): 155-158, however neither attempted to make a detailed analysis.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kassian's first redaction of the Patericon, written in 1460, contained the unaltered version of the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named found in the Primary Chronicle. Šaxmatov could see no reason why Kassian would have made changes in the original story if he had not had some new source at his disposal while he was compiling the second redaction. In fact, there is every reason to believe that Kassian made the emendations to resolve existing contradictions or to improve the story, and that the source of the emendations was the Patericon itself.[34]

Kassian's first version of the Patericon, produced in 1460, not only contained the unaltered story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named but the story of Moisej the Hungarian. The tale of Moisej says that he was captured by Bolesław Chrobry in Kiev in 1018, was in captivity in Poland for eleven years and was freed after an uprising in Poland which is mentioned in the Primary Chronicle under the year 1030. He supposedly came to the Caves Monastery shortly thereafter and remained there for ten years until his death. Obviously the tale of Moisej was hopelessly at odds with the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named which stated that Antonij came to Kiev after 1051.[35]

---

[34] "Žitie Antonija": 125-126. Abramovič attributed these differences to tales concocted by monks from Mt. Athos seeking financial support who attempted to emphasize the ties between the Holy Mount and the monasteries if Rus'; see his "Issledovanie", IORJaS 7, kniga 1 (1902): 260-261.

[35] The text of the story of Moisej the Hungarian is found in KPP: 142-149; see also Pope, Literary History: 52-90, 113-119, 370-381. The chronology of the story of Moisej is totally confused. Bolesław Chrobry died in 1025, and the uprising mentioned in the story occurred in 1036-1037 after the death of Bolesław Smiały, not in 1030 as the Primary Chronicle states. Even the period of Moisej's captivity is confused; the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This is not the only contradiction which Kassian would have noticed in his first redaction of the Patericon. The Story of the Arrival of the Architects from Constantinople describes a vision of the Virgin in which She said: "Antonij, having only blessed (the site) will depart this world for the eternal one, and Theodosij will meet his maker two years later". Since both the Primary Chronicle and the Life of Theodosij--the latter was included in its entirety in the Patericon--said that Theodosij died on May 3, 6582 (1074) Kassian would have concluded that Antonij died in 6580. However the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named says that Antonij retired to a cave where he lived in solitude for forty years until his death. This too would have been impossible if Antonij came to Kiev after 1051.[36]

Consequently it is much simpler to suppose that Kassian tried in some way to resolve these contradictions by emending the original story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named. He rearranged the account of Antonij's trip to Athos into two trips, borrowed the motif of the Varangian Cave from the tale of Theodor and Vasilij in the Kievan Caves Patericon, and added connecting phrases wherever necessary. Epithets were added to Antonij's name, and the Virgin, patroness of the Caves

---

text says that "he suffered in captivity for five years in chains and the sixth (or six) for his chastity". See D. Borowska, Kryzys monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej w latach trzydziestych XI w.; studia (Warsaw, 1964), especially 50-53; Kuz'min, Načal'nye etapy: 177-178, and the articles on Bolesław Chrobry and Moisej in SSS 1: 143-147 and 3: 278, with bibliography.

[36] KPP: 6; PSRL 1: 188, 2: 178; Uspenskij sbornik: 131. However the period of forty years may well be unreliable. P. Kazanskij demonstrated that the number 40 (M) could easily have been the result of orthographic corruption; see his "Razbor otveta": 95-99.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Monastery, was mentioned more frequently. Theodosij's arrival and tonsuring were mentioned briefly so that his appointment as abbot would not be so abrupt. Finally, the concluding phrase "to him I too came, poor and unworthy slave" was rounded out with the addition of the name "Nestor".[37]

If the Life of Antonij were a true vita/bios it would also contain some account of the saint's monastic career, even if the account only consisted of borrowings from other hagiographic works. The story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named in the Primary Chronicle briefly mentions Antonij's activity in the Monastery of the Caves, but according to Šaxmatov this was not part of the Life of Antonij. The only other references to Antonij's monastic career are found in the seven tales in the Kievan Caves Patericon which refer to the Žitie Antonija. If we examine these seven stories closely, however, we see that they are not about Antonij at all, although he is mentioned frequently, but about other monks. Several of the stories take place long after Antonij's death. Consequently there is no evidence of the existence of a body of information about Antonij's monastic career of the sort which would have been included in a life

---

[37]Kassian obviously did not really solve this matter, since he produced as many new contradictions as he eliminated. Taken literally, the new story says that Antonij was on Mt. Athos in the 1030's when Moisej arrived in Kiev, and when Antonij retired to his cave for forty years. Moreover the Patericon now said in one place that Nestor was tonsured by Theodosij, and in another that he was tonsured by Stefan. Nevertheless, the same process of splicing, rearranging and emending can be seen clearly in the seventeenth century when the first cyrillic printed edition of the Patericon was published; see H. Reiter, Studien zur ersten kyrillischen Druckausgabe des Kiever Paterikons (Munich, 1976): 180-188.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the saint.[38]

The greatest weakness in the theory of the lost Life of Antonij is the fact that there are no traces of an account of the saint's death such as one would expect to find in a true vita/bios. The sole reference to Antonij's death is found in the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle, compiled in the mid-fifteenth century. The text reads: "6581 (1073)... Antonij, Abbot of the Caves died, having chosen and blessed a site for the Church of the Holy Virgin". In the sixteenth century this entry was apparently copied from the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle by the compilers of the Nikon Chronicle. Šaxmatov considered this entry to be of great importance because of his theory that several later chronicles, most notably the Novgorod Fourth and the Sophia First, more accurately

---

[38]Simon and Polikarp said that the Life of Antonij contained a story about Simon the Varangian and his gold belt which was used to measure the dimensions of the stone church of the Monastery of the Caves; a statement that Antonij was tonsured by Ilarion and perhaps an account of the many monks of the Caves Monastery who became bishops in Rus'; one or more stories similar to the tale of Onisifor, which took place in the 1130's or 1140's, to whom Antonij appeared in a vision, promising that all of the monks of the monastery would be saved; a story of a cure similar to the tale of the monk Vavila which occurred years after Antonij had died and which did not even involve a vision of Antonij; short lives of Dem'jan, Eremij , Matfej and Isakij, monks of the Monastery of the Caves; the tale of Moisej the Hungarian, which does not concern Antonij at all until Moisej escapes from Poland and joins the brotherhood of the Caves Monastery; information about the horde of church vessels from Western Europe ("Latin vessels"), hidden by Varangians in a cave near Kiev. Although the exact nature of the last tale is unclear, it was probably an adventure story similar to that of Simon the Varangian. For these stories see KPP: 1-5, 8, 102, 104-106, 112, 133, 148, 169. Bubner observes that the Life of Theodosij also contains several stories which are not directly about Theodosij. However the Life of Theodosij contains all the essential elements of a vita/bios and was clearly patterned on a Byzantine model. The hypothetical Life of Antonij seems to only consist of stories in which Antonij is mentioned in passing. See Bubner, Das Kiever Paterikon: 51-73, 116-139.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

preserve portions of the Primary Chronicle than do the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles and related MSS.[39]

Lur'e has recently shown, however, that the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle is not so reliable as Šaxmatov thought. The Sophia First Chronicle is more accurate and closer to the common protograph, while the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle was subject to more editorial reworking. Moreover entries found only in the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle were apparently added by the compilers in the mid-fifteenth century.[40]

The entry concerning Antonij's death would appear to confirm Lur'e's analysis of the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle. It is not found in the Sophia First Chronicle, and one can hardly imagine that it was originally included in the Primary Chronicle and then systematically removed from every chronicle compilation until the mid-fifteenth century with the exception of the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle.

Moreover the chronicle entry is suspicious because it does not mention the day on which Antonij died, which one would expect if the entry were derived from the Life of Antonij. Granted, the Novgorod Chronicles devote relatively little attention to Kievan events; the Novgorod First Chronicle, for example, omits the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named, the long account of Theodosij's death in 1074, and the story of the unearthing of Theodosij's remains in 1091.

---

[39] PSRL 4 (2nd ed.): 133, 9: 101. Šaxmatov, "Obščerusskie letopisnye svody XIV i XV vv." ŽMNPr 1900/9: 90-176; Idem., "O načal'nom Kievskom letopisnom svode" ČOIDR, 1897/3: 1-58; Idem, Obozrenie russkix letopisnyx svodov XIV - XVI vv. (M-L, 1938): 182-188.

[40] Js. S. Lur'e, Obščerusskie letopisi XIV - XV vv. (L. 1976): 67-121, especially 82-83.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nevertheless, Theodosij's passing is recorded in the usual, chronologically exact manner: "Theodosij, Abbot of the Caves Monastery, died on May 3, (1074)".[41]

The imprecision of the reference to Antonij's death strongly suggests that it was not borrowed from the Life of Antonij. In fact, the remainder of this study will attempt to prove that there were no additional sources about Antonij of any nature extant in the fifteenth century. As we saw above Kassian did not use any additional sources for his 1462 version of the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named. Chapter Three will demonstrate that Paxomij the Serb also wrote a long office to Antonij using only his imagination and the entry of 1051 in the Primary Chronicle. The reference to Antonij's death in the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle was probably derived from information in one of the redactions of the Kievan Caves Patericon. It was inserted in the Chronicle, as we shall see later, because of the interest in Antonij prevalent in Novgorod during and after the episcopacy of Archbishop Iona (1458-1470).[42]

To conclude the analysis of the lost Life of Antonij from the standpoint of genre we should note the absence of posthumous miracles

---

[41] NPL: 118.

[42] The compilers of the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle would have started with the year 1030, when Moisej the Hungarian supposedly joined the brotherhood after the uprising in Poland, added a few years for the construction of the monastery and other events bringing them to 1033, and then added 40 years more during which Antonij lived in solitude. Of course this still contradicted the story of the vision of the Virgin in the Patericon which said that Antonij would die two years before Theodosij. The seventeenth century Gustinskaja letopis' provides another example of the same type of creative editing. The chronicle says that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from Šaxmatov's reconstruction. An account of miracles would have been necessary to make the Life of Antonij conform to the vita/bios genre; moreover it would have been the most effective way of undermining the veneration of Theodosij, which was supposedly the purpose of the work.

The lack of miracles apparently troubled Priselkov, since he tried unconvincingly to show that he had found traces of one miracle. The story of the consecration of the stone church of the Monastery of the Caves, found in the Kievan Caves Patericon, relates that the Bishops of Černigov, Rostov, Jur'ev and Belgorod suddenly appeared in Kiev on August 14, 1089 for the consecration without having been invited by Metropolitan Ioann. Bishop Antonij of Jur'ev said that he had been sick but had a vision of a monk who cured him and sent him to Kiev for the event. Priselkov asserted that the monk was Antonij, the founder of the Monastery of the Caves, and that his name was removed from the story. The account of Antonij's other miracles supposedly disappeared without a trace.[43]

Summing up, we have seen that the lost Life of Antonij as reconstructed by Šaxmatov does not conform to the vita/bios genre. Neither the tale of Antonij's trip to Mt. Athos, the seven stories in the Kievan Caves Patericon which mention the žitie Antonija, the reference to

---

Antonij settled in the Varangian Cave in 1013, made a second trip to Mt. Athos in 1017 and returned to Kiev in 1027. These entries could also have been derived from Kassian's 1462 version of the beginning of the Monastery of the Caves, with one important alteration: Antonij was said to return in 1027, rather than 1051, in time for the return of Moisej the Hungarian from Poland; see Kuz'min, Načal'nye etapy: 173-174.

[43]Priselkov, Očerki: 272-273; KPP: 14-15

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Antonij's death in the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle, nor the supposed miracle of Antonij could have been derived from the life of a saint. At the same time it is difficult to conceive that the Greek clerical staff of the Metropolitan of Kiev could have written a life which did not mention the day of Antonij's death, and a miracle which omitted Antonij's name. Not only would this have violated the norms of the genre in every way, it would have prevented the work from being the literary weapon which Priselkov says it was; a work which does not really glorify Antonij can hardly be said to undermine the cult of Theodosij. We conclude, therefore, that the Life of Antonij, if it ever existed, was not a work of hagiography.[44]

Šaxmatov's theory of the lost Life can be examined from a second standpoint: Is it plausible that an independent work about the founder of the Monastery of the Caves, whatever its nature, written by the scribes of the metropolitan's court, could have survived at least until the time of Simon and Polikarp in the early thirteenth century and then disappeared completely? This question can be examined with the evidence of the South Slavic manuscript tradition.

The importance of Serbian and Bulgarian manuscripts for the history of the literature of mediaeval Rus' was apparently first

---

[44]Priselkov conceded at one point that "the Life of Antonij was not only an account of the life of this saint but a Caves Patericon, relating the miracles and feats of the ascetics who had joined Antonij"; Očerki: 271. Bubner came to the same conclusion in his study: "It is difficult to reconstruct the Life of Antonij on the basis of this information. Nevertheless it is clear that this life was not a true vita". At another point, however, he confuses the issue by saying: "The existence of the Life of Antonij cannot be questioned"; see Das Kiever Paterikon: 53, 65.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recognized when A. E. Vostokov published his description of the Rumjancev Collection in 1842. It is now generally known that some works of Kievan literature are better preserved in South Slavic than in East Slavic manuscripts. Serebrjanskij discovered, for example, a redaction of the Life of Ol'ga which is of East Slavic origin and which existed in the Kievan era but which has only survived in South Slavic manuscripts.[45]

A more interesting case is the Life of Mstislav, the son of Vladimir Monomax. Mstislav is not considered a saint in the Russian Church, and there is no evidence that he was venerated in mediaeval Rus'. However a combined biography and eulogy was apparently written in the Kievan era and found its way into South Slavic manuscripts. It was

---

[45] A. E. Vostokov, Opisanie russkix i slovenskix rukopisej Rumjancevskogo muzeuma (SPb., 1842), especially 447-454. For the Life of Ol'ga see Serebrjanskij: 1-8, 23-43 and texts 6-13. For background on the presence of Slavic literature in South Slavic texts see V. Mošin, "O periodizacii russko-južnoslavjanskix literaturnyx svjazej X-XV vv.", TODRL 19 (1963): 28-106, especially 79-80; V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, "Drevnerusskie literaturnye pamjatniki v jugoslavjanskoj pis'mennosti" TODRL 19 (1963): 5-27; B. St. Angelov, "Iz istorijata na ruskoto knižovno pronikvane u nas (XI-XIV vek)", Institute za bulgarska literatura, Izvestija 3 (1955): 37-65; Idem, "Materialy za pronikvane na ruskata kniga v Bulgarija do XIV v." Bulgarskija bibliografski institut, Godisnik 4 (1954): 113-126; Idem, "Iz starata bulgarska, ruska is srubska literatura" (Sofia, 1958); Idem, "K voprosu o načale russko-bolgarskix literaturnyx svjazej" TODRL 14 (1958): 132-138; I. Snegarov, Duxovno-kulturni vruzki meždu Bulgarija i Rusija prez srednite vekove (X-XV v.), (Sofia, 1950); Idem, "Istorija kul'turnyx svjazej meždu Bolgariej i Rossiej v kon. XIV - nač. XV v." in Meždunarodnye svjazi Rossii do XVII (Moscow, 1961): 257-277; A. I. Sobolevskij, "Osobennosti russkix perevodov domongol'skogo perioda" Sbornik ORJaS 88/3 (1910): 162-177; M. N. Speranskij, "Serbskoe žitie litovskix mučenikov", ČOIDR 1909/1: 1-47; Idem, "Serbskoe žitie Feodosija pečerskogo" ČOIDR 1913/1: 55-71; Idem, "Serbskoe žitie Feodosija pečerskogo", in Sbornik statej posvjaščennyx V. O. Ključevskomu (Moscow, 1909): 537-546; Idem, "K istorii russko-jugoslavjanskix literaturnyx svjazej. Sbornik statej" (Moscow, 1960); Idem, "K istorii vzaimootnošenii russkoj i jugoslavjanskix literatur" IORJaS 26 (1921/1923): 143-206.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recopied frequently into Serbian and Bulgarian synaxaries by monks who undoubtedly thought that Mstislav was a saint. Only at the end of the fourteenth century, during the period of the "second South Slavic influence" was the Life of Mstislav recopied from a South Slavic manuscript into a single Russian liturgical book.[46]

The hagiography of the Kievan era was also known in other regions of the Byzantine Empire, although because of the need for translation, to a much lesser degree than in Serbia and Bulgaria. Proof of this is seen in the Armenian, and perhaps Greek, version of the Skazanie of Boris and Gleb.[47]

In view of this it is reasonable to expect that some trace of the Life of Antonij would be preserved through the South Slavic manuscript tradition. Appendix One lists twenty-six South Slavic liturgical manuscripts written before 1400; they include Boris and Gleb, Theodosij, Vladimir, Ol'ga, Mstislav and even the Varangian Christians whose martyrdom is mentioned in the Primary Chronicle under the year 983. M. N. Speranskij demonstrated that Theodosij was apparently of considerable interest to Serbian bookmen since they reworked Nestor's Life to suit their needs and tastes. However in none of the manuscripts do we find a trace of the Life of Antonij in any form, not even Antonij's

---

[46]Serebrjanskij: 15-16.

[47]The most recent study of the Armenian translation of the Skazanie of Boris and Gleb is Ya. Dachkevytch (= Ja. Daškevič), "Les Arméniens à Kiev (jusqu'à 1240)", Revue des études arméniennes 11 (1975-1976): 346-375, with complete references to earlier literature. The present author is not qualified to judge if the Armenian translation was made, as Daškevič asserts, from the original Old Russian Skazanie, or from an earlier Greek translation as Beneševič and Poppe believe.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

name in a liturgical calendar of saints.[48]

The evidence provided by the South Slavic manuscripts is confirmed by the East Slavic liturgical tradition: There is no proof that Antonij was venerated in Rus' before the year 1394. Appendix One lists over one hundred East Slavic manuscripts written before 1400 which contain the lives, offices and calendars of the saints of Rus'. Although Boris and Gleb, Theodosij and Vladimir appear in almost all of them Antonij is not mentioned even once. This is particularly striking since Antonij's name could have been added to the calendars of church holidays at any time, even if his Life had disappeared. Therefore, given the number of extant liturgical manuscripts it would appear that Antonij was consciously excluded.[49]

The absence of a cult of Antonij is proven not only by manuscript sources but by art and architecture as well. No churches were dedicated to Antonij until 1394 and there are no encolpion crosses or bronze icons depicting Antonij such as those of Boris and Gleb.[50] The only exception

---

[48] See the two articles by M. N. Speranskij entitled "Serbskoe žitie Feodosija pečerskogo".

[49] In 1394 Bishop Arsenij of Tver' dedicated a church to Antonij and Theodosij; PSRL 11: 156. The event will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

[50] According to Mr. V. Teteriatnikov of New York there are no bronze icons or enclopion crosses with Antonij and Theodosij from the mediaeval period such as those with Boris and Gleb. For the latter, see: V. I. Lesjučevskij, "Vyšgorodskij kul't Borisa i Gleba v pamjatnikax iskusstva" Sovetskaja Arxeologija 8 (1946): 225-247; A. Poppe, "O roli ikonografičeskix izobraženii v izučenii literaturnyx proizvedenii o Borise i Glebe" TODRL 22 (1966): 24-45; M. Aleškovskij, "Russkie glebo-borisovskie enkolpiony 1072-1150 godov" Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: xudožestvennaja kul'tura domongol'skoj Rusi, (M., 1972): 104-125.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

is an icon known as the Virgin of Svensk (Svenskaja Bogomater') now in the Tretjakov Gallery, which is generally thought to depict Antonij and Theodosij. Although one icon hardly proves the existence of a cult of Antonij given the evidence of over one hundred East and South Slavic liturgical manuscripts, the Virgin of Svensk presents an interesting problem and deserves to be discussed in detail.

The icon depicts the Virgin, seated on a throne in the center holding the Christ child on her knees. Two male figures with haloes stand on either side of the throne. Contrary to normal iconographic principles they are the same size as the Virgin, which caused I. Karabinov to state that they are a later addition.[51]

The figure on the left is bare-headed; above him are the letters "Fe". He holds a long scroll, the inscription on which has not been deciphered. The figure on the right is hooded; the inscription with his name has been totally effaced. He holds a somewhat shorter scroll with the inscription: "molju vy ubo čada deržimsja ? v"zderžan'e i ne lenimsja im bo o sebe Ga pomošč̌nika/ therefore I pray you, my children, be strong with abstinence, and do not be remiss, for we have the Lord to help us". The source of this quotation has so far not been determined.[52]

---

[51] Gosudarstvennaja tret'jakovskaja gallereja, Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi XI - načala XVIII v.v. (M., 1963) 1: 76-77 and plates 32-34; I. Karabinov, "'Namestnaja' ikona drevnego Kievo-Pečerskogo monastyrja", Gosudarstvennaja akademija istorii material'noj kul'tury, Izvestija 5 (1927): 107.

[52] The passages on the two scrolls have not yet been definitively transcribed and identified. Transcriptions were made by Archimandrite Ierofej and quoted by M. I. Uspenskij, but apparently from a copy of the original Virgin of Svensk, since the passages are not identical. Uspenskij gives them as follows: "molju ubo vy čada, deržimsja vozderžanija i ne

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although the Virgin of Svensk has never been the subject of serious study, a number of scholars have stated that it is a copy of the miraculous namestnaja icon of the Virgin originally in the Kievan Caves Monastery, that it was painted in 1288, and that the two male figures are Antonij and Theodosij. Only A. I. Nekrasov believed that the inscriptions date from the fourteenth century, that the two figures are not Antonij and Theodosij and probably not even saints despite their haloes. He asserted that the hooded figure on the right is neither a monk nor a saint, but the donor (ktitor) of a church.[53]

There is no doubt that from the sixteenth century on the Virgin of Svensk was thought to depict the Virgin with Antonij and Theodosij, since it became the prototype for a number of icons employing this iconographic theme, the Virgin enthroned with Antonij and Theodosij. All of these icons were given the generic name "Virgin of Svensk" or "Virgin of the Caves". However this fact provides no basis for analyzing the

---

lenimsja. Imamy v" sem" Gospoda pomoščnika". and "Vladyko Gospodi Bože Vsederžitelju, Tvorče vseja tvari vidimyx i nevidimyx, svoim smotreniem vogradi dom prečistyja tvoeja Materi mnoju rabom Tvoim Theodosiem, ego že utverdi nedvižimo do dne suda Tvoego strašnago (na) xvalu i slavoslovie Tebe"; from M. I. Uspenskij, Zametki o drevnerusskom ikonopisanii (SPb. 1901): 19. The short inscription as given by Uspenskij is quite close to the inscription on the original Virgin of Svensk, which can be read in a good photograph of the icon; see Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi plate 34. However the second transcription given by Uspenskij is clearly far too short for the longer scroll in the original Virgin of Svensk.

[53] Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi: 76-77; B. D. Grekov, Kul'tura kievskoj Rusi (M.-L., 1944): 41; Istorija russkogo iskusstva (M., 1953-1964) 1: 223-224; I. Grabar', "Andrej Rublev. Ocerk tvorčestva xudožnika po dannym restavracionnyx rabot 1918-1924", Voprosy restavracii 1 (1926): 52, 55; A. Anisimov, "Domongol'skij period drevne-ruskoj živopisi", Ibid. 2 (1928): 152, 154-155; Uspenskij: 23-29; A. I. Nekrasov, Drevnerusskoe izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo (M., 1937): 186-189. According to Mr. V. Teteriatnikov of New York the icon was probably painted in the Balkans rather than in Rus'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

original Virgin of Svensk.[54]

Attempts to analyze and attribute the earliest Virgin of Svensk in the Tret'jakov Gallery have been influenced to an excessive degree by a number of legends. The most important of these concerns Prince Roman Mixailovič of Brjansk, the son of St. Mixail of Černigov. In 1288 Prince Roman supposedly became blind. He sent a message to the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, requesting that a certain miracle-working icon of the Virgin be sent to cure him. The icon was sent, but on the way it miraculously disappeared. When it was finally found, everyone decided that the Virgin wanted the icon to remain in that spot. Consequently a monastery was built, which became the Svensk Monastery, and Prince Roman was cured of his blindness.[55]

This tale is a typical legend intended to give prestige to a church or monastery by connecting its foundation with some important personnage or event. In this case the Monastery of Svensk tried to acquire even greater fame by claiming to possess a treasure from the Monastery of the Caves. In some respects the tale is similar in nature and function to the story of Andrej Bogoljubskij's translation of the "Vladimir" icon of the Virgin to the North.[56]

---

[54]Karabinov: 105-106; Uspenskij: 19-23; Katalog 2: 492.

[55]Karabinov: 106-107; Katalog 1:77.

[56]A similar legend is found in the Kievan Caves Patericon which states that Vladimir Monomax founded the Cathedral of Rostov; see KPP: 12, and N. N. Voronin, "Političeskaja legenda v Kievo-pečerskom paterike", TODRL 11 (1955): 96-102. Another such tale is found in the Life of Petr of the Horde, and is intended to defend the land and water rights of the monastery which he supposedly founded; see Pravoslavnyj sobesednik 1859, No. 1: 356-376 and M. O. Skripil', ed., Russkie povesti XV - XVI vekov

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In spite of this, scholars have claimed almost unanimously that the Virgin of Svensk in the Tretjakov Gallery is the icon of the Virgin in the legend of Prince Roman which, in turn, is thought to be a copy of the miraculous namestnaja icon of the Virgin mentioned several times in the Kievan Caves Patericon. According to yet another tradition, the namestnaja icon was said to have been copied from an icon in St. Sophia in Constantinople. However neither the legend of Prince Roman nor the Kievan Caves Patericon mentions an icon of the Virgin together with Antonij and Theodosij; indeed, this would have been impossible if the namestnaja icon were copied from one in Constantinople.[57]

In short, the legends provide no basis for determining the date and provenance of the Virgin of Svensk or the identity of the two male figures depicted in it, all of which must be considered uncertain for the time being.

The only question of importance for the present study is whether or not the Virgin of Svensk in the Tretjakov Gallery depicts the Virgin with Antonij and Theodosij. If we examine the icon without reference to the legends which surround it we find no grounds for stating that the

---

(L., 1958): 430-438. For the story of the Vladimir icon of the Virgin see V. O. Ključevskij, ed., Skazanie o čudesax vladimirskoj ikony Božej Materi (SPb., 1878).

[57] KPP: 10-13, 172-173; L. N. Majkov, "Materialy i issledovanie po starinnoj russkoj literature; beseda o svjatynjax i drugix dostopamjatnostjax caregrada", SB ORJaS 51 (1890): 14; N. P. Kondakov, Ikonografija Bogomateri (Petrograd, 1915) 2: 326. Karabinov, p. 107, assumes that the legend of Prince Roman is true, except for the statement that the monks of the Monastery of the Caves sent the original icon. He proposed that a copy would have been made, and that the extant Virgin of Svensk dates from the year of the miracle, 1288. M. I. Uspenskij, pp. 28-29, even concluded that it was painted by the Caves Monk Alimpij in the eleventh century!

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

two figures are Antonij and Theodosij. Neither the letters "Fe" nor the inscription quoted above provides any basis for such an attribution; "Fe" could be Theodosios the Coenobiarch, Theodore of Studion or any one of a number of non-military saints with these names.[58]

An iconographic analysis of the two figures, although not conclusive, suggests that they are not Antonij and Theodosij of the Monastery of the Caves. The founders of monasticism in Rus' are depicted relatively rarely in Russian art, and there does not seem to have been a fixed iconography of them as there was of Boris and Gleb. Nevertheless the few representations of Antonij and Theodosij which we have, excluding of course later copies of the Virgin of Svensk, do not usually resemble the figures in the present icon.

On the contrary, the iconography of the two figures in the Virgin of Svensk is similar to that of Theodosios the Coenobiarch and Anthony of Egypt. Theodosios is commonly depicted with a beard, bareheaded and holding a scroll while Anthony is almost always shown with a beard, hooded, holding a cross in one hand and a scroll in the other just like the figures in the Virgin of Svensk. However the faces of Theodosios and Anthony in Byzantine art are usually quite different from those in the present icon.[59]

---

[58] Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, 3rd ed. Edited by F. Halkin (Brussels, 1957) 2: 274-281, 288-289.

[59] In the chapel dedicated to Antonij and Theodosij in the Church of the Dormition in the Pskov Monastery of the Caves, painted in the 1550's or 1560's, Antonij is depicted wearing a skull-cap, without a hood and with his hands raised, not bearing a scroll. The portrait of Theodosij has been effaced; see S. Jamščikov, "Pečerskie freski", Dekorativnoe iskusstvo 1971 No. 7: 32-33; Ju. G. Malkov, "Novyj pamjatnik živopisi

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Summing up, the provenance, date and subject matter of the Virgin of Svensk must be considered uncertain. As a result, the icon cannot be used as proof that Antonij was venerated before 1394.

In view of the foregoing we may reasonably draw the following conclusions:

1) The Life of Antonij as reconstructed by Šaxmatov is not a work of hagiography and could not have been used to oppose the veneration of Theodosij;

2) There is no evidence that Kassian, Paxomij the Serb (as will be shown in Chapter 3) or the author of the entry of 6581 (1073) in the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle used any sources other than the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named in the Primary Chronicle and the Kievan Caves Patericon;

3) The South Slavic manuscript tradition strongly suggests that

---

drevnego Pskova", Istorija SSSR 1971, No. 6: 220-224. The iconography of Antonij and Theodosij as given by N. P. Barsukov, Istočniki russkoj agiografii (SPb., 1882): 47, 603-604, also differs from that of the Svenskaja Bogomater'. Representations of the dormition of Theodosij were also relatively frequent; see N. V. Pokrovskij, Sijskij ikonopisnyj podlinnik (SPb., 1895-1898): 198; Stroganovskij ikonopisnyj licevoj podlinnik (M., 1869; reprinted Munich, 1965): 305. In the Stroganovskij podlinnik: 307, Antonij is represented as hooded and bearing a scroll like the figure on the right in the Svenskaja Bogomater'. For Theodosios the Coenobiarch and Anthony of Egypt see the Stroganovskij podlinnik: 183, 193; Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie, ed. by W. Braunfels et al. (Rome, 1968-1976) 5: 205-217, 8: 454; K. Weitzmann, The Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai; the Icons (Princeton, N.J., 1976-) 1: plates 91a, 113, 115; G. Millet, Monuments de l'Athos (Paris, 1927) 1: plates 46.2, 180.1; Idem, La peinture du moyen âge en Jougoslavie, ed. by A. Frolow (Paris, 1954-1957) 1: plate 21.1, 2: plate 87.3; A. Xyngopoulos, Sxediasma istorias tes threskeutikes zografikes meta ten alosin (Athens, 1957): plate 12.2; C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall Paintings" Dumbarton Oaks Papers 20 (1966): plates 38, 39; V. N. Lazarev, Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi (M., 1947-1948): plate 105a.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

an independent work of any nature about Antonij never existed;

4) There is no evidence that Antonij was venerated by Greeks or Slavs before 1394.

The question of the žitie Antonija mentioned by Simon and Polikarp still remains: What was this work if it was not a hagiographic biography of Antonij? Of course, it is possible that Simon and Polikarp's references are figures of speech intended to add credulity to their miraculous stories, but let us assume that they were referring to a particular text.[60]

The question unfortunately cannot be answered by means of a lexical analysis. Žitie was used to mean life as opposed to death; one's dwelling or abode; a way of life; civic or communal life; property; and of course hagiographic biography. On the other hand hagiographic works are called žitie, mučenie, pamjat', čtenie, strast' and skazanie, all of which is of no help in determining why a non-hagiographic work of

---

[60]There is no way to prove that Simon and Polikarp actually used the word žitie. The oldest complete MS. of the Patericon is the Bersen'ev MS. of 1406. There is also a late fourteenth century fragment of the story of Moisej the Hungarian; see Pope, Literary History: 116, 193-201. However the consistent use of the term žitie Antonija in all redactions of the Patericon certainly suggest that it was used by Simon and Polikarp. Bubner, Das Kiever Patericon: 8-9, seems to have been the first to suggest that the epistles of Simon and Polikarp should not be taken at face value. He believes that they were not genuine letters but works composed in epistular form. Although he cites several Byzantine paterica which contain stories written in the form of letters he omits one of the best examples, the Gospel according to Luke and the Acts of the Apostles. Most recently Kuz'min, Načal'nye etapy: 169 criticized Abramovič and insisted on the existence of the Life of Antonij as an independent work. His reason for doing so is the fact that Simon and Polikarp correctly mention information in Nestor's Life of Theodosij, hence the Life of Antonij must also have existed. Yet he fails to discuss the nature of the Life of Antonij, although it is clear from his discussion that it was not a hagiographic work and seems in fact to have been similar to his Old Rostov Chronicle.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

literature would be called a žitie.[61]

As we saw at the beginning of the chapter, the only proof of the existence of a work called the Life of Antonij is found in the seven references to the žitie Antonija in the Kievan Caves Patericon; scholars have attributed other information to the Life of Antonij, but these are only hypotheses. If we review the references of Simon and Polikarp to the žitie Antonija we see that the work contained the story of Simon the Varangian, his golden belt and the construction of the stone church of the Monastery of the Caves; the story of Moisej the Hungarian; other stories about monks of the monastery usually involving visions and cures. In other words, the work was a combination of history, adventure and miracles.[62]

In all likelihood the žitie Antonija also contained the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named found in the Primary Chronicle under the year 1051, the account of Theodosij's death under the year 1074 and the first person account of the unearthing of Theodosij's remains under the year 1091. Although there is no direct evidence that any of these chronicle entries were part of the so-called žitie Antonija mentioned by Simon and Polikarp, a number of observations suggest that all three were in fact included.

The first observation is that the tale Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named was part of a longer work. At the end of the tale the

---

[61] I. I. Sreznevskij, Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka (SPb., 1893-1903) 1: 877-878; Uspenskij sbornik: 38, 42, 71, 135, 160, 177, 188 etc.

[62] KPP: 8, 102, 106, 112, 133, 148, 169.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

author says: "Thus I have written and set forth in what year the monastery was founded and why it is called the Caves Monastery; but of Theodosij's life we shall speak later". In its present form, however, the story does not say in what year the monastery was founded except indirectly, by linking Antonij's arrival in Kiev with the elevation of Ilarion in 1051. Moreover the words "but of Theodosij's life we shall speak later" indicate that the tale recounted other events in the history of the Monastery of the Caves and then returned to the subject of Theodosij.[63]

The continuation of the story probably included the accounts of Theodosij's death and the uncovery of his remains now in the Primary Chronicle under the years 1074 and 1091, since all three chronicle entries--1051, 1074 and 1091--appear to have been written by the same person. It is clear that all three entries were not written by Nestor, the author of the Life of Theodosij: all three contradict Nestor's Life and differ stylistically from that work.[64] On the other hand all three chronicle entries exhibit certain stylistic similarities and use certain phrases which are otherwise not common in the Primary Chronicle.[65]

---

[63]PSRL 1: 155-160, 2: 143-149.

[64]For a brief, clear summary see Kuz'min, Načal'nye etapy: 133-148. The Primary Chronicle and Nestor the hagiographer were compared stylistically by P. S. Biljarskij, "Zamečanija o jazyke Skazanija o sv. Borise i Glebe, pripisyvaemogo Nestoru, sravnitel'no s jazykom letopisi", Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk, Zapiski 2, kniga 1-2 (1862): 109-120; S. A. Bugoslavskij, "K voprosu"IORJaS 19 (1914) kniga 1: 179-186, kniga 3: 163.

[65]Kuz'min, Načal'nye etapy: 159-167 asserted that all three chronicle entries were written by one disciple of Theodosij and suggested that this was Silvestr, who mentions himself in the Laurentian Chronicle

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

One aspect which distinguishes the entries of 1051, 1074 and 1091 from Nestor's Life of Theodosij and from the Primary Chronicle which has not been noted so far is the use of Biblical quotations. Nestor frequently includes direct quotations and indirect references to Scripture in his Life of Theodosij. Many passages in the Primary Chronicle such as the eulogy to Vladimir under the year 1015 and the eulogy to Izjaslav Jaroslavič under the year 1078 also make frequent use

---

under the year 1116. It is commonly known that at the end of the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named (1051) the author says that he came to Theodosij and was tonsured when he, the author, was seventeen. This conflicts with Nestor's own statement in the Life of Theodosij that he was tonsured by Abbot Stefan and did not know Theodosij at all; PSRL 1: 160, 2: 149; Uspenskij sbornik: 134. Furthermore the author of the eulogy which follows the account of the unearthing of Theodosij's remains in 1091 calls himself "Theodosij's servant and disciple"; PSRL 1: 213, 2: 204. Kuz'min identifies the two, even though the eulogy does not appear to be an integral part of the tale of the uncovery of Theodosij's remains. Nevertheless Kuz'min is probably right since there are unusual stylistic similarities between the three entries. The story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named under the year 1051 begins with the phrase "and now I will relate why the Monastery of the Caves is so named/ i se da skažem, čego radi prozvasja Pečer'skyi manastyr'". The story of Theodosij's death under the year 1074 begins in a similar fashion: "and now I shall relate a little about his death. Theodosij was accustomed.. ./skažem bo s'penie ego malo. Theodosii bo obyčai imjaše..." The author of the story of the uncovery of Theodosij's remains in 1091 states, after a brief introduction: "I, sinner, was the first witness, and this I will relate/ az grešnyi pervoe samovidec'; se že i skažju.". Further on he begins the story of Theodosij's prophecy about the wife of Jan' with: "and now I shall relate a little/ se že povem malo.". The story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named uses "rekati" and direct discourse eleven times; the entry of 1074 (excluding the story of Dem'jan, Eremij, Matfej and Isakij) uses it eight times and "glagolati" and direct discourse five times; the entry of 1091 (the uncovery of Theodosij's remains and prophecy) uses "rekati" eight times and "glagolati" once. The entries 1074 and 1091 have the phrases "udariti v bilo" and "prazdnovati svetlo" in common. The entries 1051 and 1091 have the following in common: the phrase "s"vet s"tvoriti", the past tense verb "poča" plus an infinitive, and the word "strana" used in an unusual manner. The story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named says of Antonij: "i v'složi semu Bog v' stranu iti". As early as the fifteenth century bookmen apparently thought that there was a lacuna in the text, since the version of the story in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the Bible. The chronicle entries of 1051, 1074 and 1091, on the other hand, make no use of the Bible whatsoever although they describe many of the same events as the Life of Theodosij.[66]

Consequently the chronicle entries of 1051, 1074 and 1091 appear to have been part of a longer, narrative work. Two facts suggest that this longer work was the Žitie Antonija. Firstly, all three chronicle entries are similar in form, length and narrative style to many of the

---

Kassian second redaction of the Kievan Caves Patericon adds: "v stranu Greč'skuju"; see above, pp. 20, 23. However "strana" probably simply means "abroad", not "country". This becomes clear when we see that the chronicle entry of 1091 says: "and we began to despair, since we were digging to the side/načax tužiti, eda kako na stranu kopaem".

[66]Nestor includes the following Biblical passages and references in his Life of Theodosij:

Uspenskij sbornik, folio and lines	
25 b 3-6	Lk 17: 6
26 v 5-12	Mt 8: 11, Lk 13: 29-30
26 g 16	Mt 25: 26
29 g 1-10	Mt 26: 26-28, Lk 14: 22-24
30 g 9-19	Mk 10: 29, Mt 11: 28-29
31 v 32- 31 g 2	uncertain
33 a 10-15	uncertain
33 v 15-17	Mt 18: 20
33 v 32- 33 g 4	Mt 19: 24 (Mk 10: 25, Lk 18: 25)
35 b 8-12	reference to Acts 15: 36-41
	129
36 g 18-20	Ps 91: 13
37 a 16-23	Mt 6: 31-33
39 b 20	Mk 10: 29, Mk 8: 35
50 b 15 ff.	recalls Mt 15: 30-39, Mk 8: 1-8
51 a 32 ff.	recalls Jn 2: 1-10
51 v 24 ff.	recalls Mt 15: 30-39, Mk 8: 1-8
52 b 28 ff.	recalls Mt 15: 30-39, Mk 8: 1-8
54 v 28 ff.	recalls Mt 15: 30-39, Mk 8: 1-8
55 b 19-25	Mt 6: 26
56 b 4-9	Gen 28: 16-17
58 v 8	reference to Gen 4: 1-16
62 v 16-17	Mt 6: 10
	130
65 a 15	1 Kings 2: 30
65 a 17-23	Hab 2: 4, Heb 10: 38

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stories in the Kievan Caves Patericon, including several of those which contain information from the žitie Antonija.[67] Moreover when the three chronicle entries are combined with the seven stories which Simon and Polikarp supposedly read in the žitie Antonija they form the core of a coherent history of the origin, main events and leading figures of the Monastery of the Caves.

This history would have been in the form of a continuous narrative rather than a chronicle composed of yearly entries. Based on existing information it described the founding of the monastery by Antonij and the blessing of the monks of Mt. Athos (chronicle entry of 1051); the institution of the Rule of Theodore of Studion (1051); the adventures of several brothers before they became monks (story of Moisej and epistles of Simon); the building of the stone church (epistles of Simon); the death of Theodosij and the uncovery of his remains (chronicle entries of 1074, 1091), and tales of other brothers of the monastery (chronicle entry of 1074 and the other references to the žitie Antonija).

The žitie Antonija therefore was neither a vita/bios nor a chronicle. One could call it a patericon, but it was not a patericon like the Lausaic History of Palladius or the verba seniorum/apothegmata.[68]

---

[67] An example of the similarity of narrative style is seen in the opening words of several of the tales. The tale of Simon the Varangian begins: "There was in the Varangian land a prince named Afrikan, the brother of Jakun the Blind". The story of Moisej the Hungarian begins: "He (Moisej) was of Hungarian origin, the brother of Georgij on whom the holy Boris placed a grivna of gold". The chronicle account of 1051 begins the story of Antonij with the words "There was a certain man, a layman, from the town of Ljubeč, and God inspired him to go abroad"; see KPP: 1, 142; PSRL 1: 156, 2: 144.

[68] Scholars generally distinguish five paterica; see Bibliotheca

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It was probably a narrative history of the Monastery of the Caves which included a good deal of adventure and a number of miracles.

The narrative emphasized the importance of the Studion Rule and the Lenten fasts for monasticism (chronicle entries of 1051, 1074), and placed the Monastery of the Caves first among the monasteries of Rus' because it had introduced the Rule and had been blessed by the monks of Mt. Athos (chronicle entry of 1051). It recounted the conversion of a pagan and the devotion of one brother to the monastic ideal (epistles of Simon and story of Moisej), recorded the land grants and protection of Princes Izjaslav and Svjatoslav against future encroachment (chronicle entries of 1051, 1074) and confirmed the brothers' right to elect their own abbot without interference from the metropolitan (chronicle entries of 1051, 1074). Lastly the story of Theodosij's death and the unearthing of his remains (chronicle entries of 1074, 1091) and the tales of other cures and wonders (tales of Isakij, Vavila, Onisifor, etc.) were

---

Hagiographica Graeca 3: 191-214; A. Ehrhard, Ueberlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche (Leipzig and Berlin, 1939-1952) 3: 916-942; Beck, "Kirche und theologische Literatur": 412-413; O. Nedeljkovich, "Problem tipologije slavenskoga paterika" Slovo (Zagreb) 24 (1974): 7-16. See also ANSSSR, Institut literatury, Istorija russkoj literatury (M., 1941-1954) 1: 106-113; Bubner, Das Kiever Patericon: 78-86; V. S. Golyšenko, ed. Sinajskij paterik (M., 1967); I. M. Smirnov, Sinajskij paterik v dreneslavjanskom perevode (Sergiev Posad, 1917); W. Bousset, Apothegmata (Tuebingen, 1923); I. P. Eremin, "K istorii drevne-russkoj perevodnoj povesti", TODRL 3 (1936): 37-57; Idem, "Svodnyj paterik", ANURSR, Istorično-filologičnij viddil, Zapysky 12 (1927): 48-77. The problem of chronicles derived from lists of campaigns, bishops, etc. was discussed at considerable length by B. A. Rybakov, Drevnjaja Rus'. Skazanija-byliny-letopisi (M., 1963): 162-192. See also S. M. Suxomlinov, "O drevnerusskoj letopisi kak pamjatnike literaturnom", SB ORJaS 85, kniga 1 (1908): 1-247; I. P. Eremin, "Povest' vremennyx let", problemy ee istoriko-literaturnogo izučenija (L., 1946); Idem, "Kievskaja letopis' kak pamjatnik literatury", TODRL 7 (1949): 67-97.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

intended to make the Monastery of the Caves seem like the "Holy Mount".

Why would Simon and Polikarp have called this history a life/ žitie? Ultimately we can only guess. However it is likely that by the thirteenth century the distinctions between the various literary genres were blurred or even meaningless. In 1406, for example, Bishop Arsenij of Tver', a learned man, called his copy of the Kievan Caves Patericon "books/knigi". Shortly thereafter, as we shall see in Chapter Three, the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named, was included in the liturgical books as a synaxary Life of Antonij. In the mid-fifteenth century Paxomij the Serb said that he used a hagiographic work about Metropolitan Aleksej which he simply called a "document/pisanie". It is not too surprising then that a history of the main events of the Monastery of the Caves which began with Antonij's trip to Mt. Athos came to be called the Life of Antonij.[69]

The žitie Antonija mentioned by Simon and Polikarp was a history of the Monastery of the Caves, or, if one prefers to use Šaxmatov's term, a Kievan Caves chronicle, which became part of the Primary Chronicle. However the theory that an integral work about Antonij, whether hagiographic in nature or not, whether Grecophile or Grecophobe, was

---

[69]For Arsenij of Tver' see Pope, Literary History: 193-201. Paxomij's statement is found in V. A. Kučkin, "Iz literaturnogo nasledija Paxomija Serba; staršaja redakcija žitija Mitropolita Alekseja", in ANSSSR, Institut slavjanovedenija, Istočniki i istoriografija slavjanskogo srednevekov'ja (M., 1967): 245-246. As late as the mid-seventeenth century redactions of the Kievan Caves Patericon, one of which was authorized by Petr Mogila, began with the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named but with the title žitie Antonija; see Abramovič, "Issledovanie", IORJaS 7, kniga 1 (1902): 262-266.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

written during the Kievan era and subsequently lost should finally be put to rest. The next chapter will trace the origin and development of the cult of Theodosij during the Kievan era and try to explain why Antonij was not venerated as a saint.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Two

The Cult of Theodosij in the Kievan Era

In order to understand the cults of Theodosij and Antonij we must begin by reviewing their monastic careers, for the activities of each monk during his lifetime had a great deal to do with his subsequent veneration or lack thereof. Although Theodosij was honored after his death by the brethren of the Monastery of the Caves for his virtuous life and leadership as abbot, it was his involvement in the world, reminiscent in some ways of Theodore of Studion, which caused him to be venerated outside the walls of the monastery.

Antonij, on the other hand, was not venerated for over three centuries after his death; no account of his passing was ever written and the date of his death was soon forgotten. This can only be explained by his view of the monastic ideal: Both his monastic name, undoubtedly chosen in honor of St. Anthony of Egypt, and his later career, indicate that he was devoted to anchoritic rather than coenobitic monasticism. Antonij's asceticism and desire to live the life of a hermit apparently did not inspire devotion in monks or laymen until the very end of the fourteenth century. At that time the religious climate had changed considerably, and interest in Antonij suddenly appeared.

As we saw in Chapter One, the bulk of our knowledge of the lives of Antonij and Theodosij is derived from the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named included in the Primary Chronicle under the year

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1051 and in Nestor's Life of Theodosij. Despite certain contradictions the general outline of events is clear.

Antonij, a man from the town of Ljubeč who wished to become a monk, travelled to Mt. Athos sometime during the first half of the eleventh century; the story of Antonij's two trips in Kassian's second redaction of the Kievan Caves Patericon is a literary invention. Antonij was not the only monk from Rus' on Mt. Athos at the time: others had formed their own skete at least as early as 1016. Whether he was a member of this brotherhood or joined one of the other monasteries is unclear; in any event he was tonsured and took the name Antonij, undoubtedly in honor of St. Anthony of Egypt.[1]

Antonij returned to Kiev shortly after 1051, and probably visited the monasteries in Kiev as the Primary Chronicle states: Although the passage in Ilarion's encomium to Vladimir which refers to monasteries in the latter's reign is too allegorical and hyperbolic to be reliable, there

---

[1]The only account of Antonij's monastic career is of course the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named found in the Primary Chronicle, PSRL 1: 155-160, 2: 143-149. The presence of monks from Rus' on Mt. Athos is proven by a number of documents in Greek signed by abbots who identify themselves as being "of the Russes" or "of Rus'" ("ton Rousson" or "tou Rous"). In 1143 an inventory was made of the skete on Mt. Athos known as the Skete of the Virgin and of the Woodworker ("tou ksulourgou") which mentions a number of Russian ("rousikos") objects such as books, cloth, furs, etc. For the origin and history of the Russian monastery on Mt. Athos see the article by A. Poppe, "Ruski klasztor na Athosie", SSS 4: 586-587, which is the most recent and best summary of the problem. See also Akty russkogo na svjatom Afone monastyrja sv. velikomučenika i celitel'ja Pantelejmon (Kiev, 1873): 2-6, 10-27, 30-39, 42-61, 68-81; Archives de l'Athos, vol. 1: Actes de Lavra, ed. by G. Rouillard and P. Collomp (Paris, 1937): 52; A. V. Soloviev, "Histoire du monastère russe au Mont Athos", Byzantion 8 (1933): 213-238; V. Mošin, "Russkie na Afone i russko-vizantijskie otnošenija v XI - XII vekax", Byzantinoslavica 9 (1947-1948): 56-85; I. Smolitsch, "Le Month Athos et la Russie", Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963; Etudes et Mélanges 2 vols. (Chevetogne, 1963-1964) 1: 279-318.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are other indications that there were monasteries in Kiev by the time Antonij returned from Mt. Athos. Having visited the monasteries, Antonij apparently decided that he preferred to live the life of an anchorite, and retired to some secluded spot. The account of his settling in Ilarion's cave, however, cannot be verified and may be a literary device.[2]

Devout men gradually gathered about Antonij to learn from him and imitate his asceticism. Their number increased to such an extent that they were finally forced to leave the caves and build a monastery above ground. In this respect Antonij's brotherhood was not unique; it followed the pattern of several monasteries in the Byzantine Empire, including the great Laura of St. Athanasios on Mt. Athos. Antonij apparently disliked the burden of guiding the brotherhood; consequently he appointed Varlaam to be abbot and withdrew to live alone. Varlaam however eventually left the Monastery of the Caves to become Abbot of the Monastery of St. Demitry,

---

[2]Although there are numerous studies of various aspects of the Christianization of Rus', little has been written on the beginning of monasticism. The most thorough and reliable study is still E. E. Golubinskij's Istorija russkoj cerkvi I/2: 552-790. Recent works such as I. Smolitsch, Russisches Moenchtum (Wuerzburg, 1953) and M. J. Rouet de Journel, Monachisme et monastères russes (Paris, 1952) add little that is new. Referring to Vladimir's Christianization of Rus' Ilarion says: "The shepherds of the spiritual sheep of Christ, the bishops, placed the bloodless offering upon the altars. Priests, deacons and the entire chapter adorned and dressed the holy churches in beauty. The trumpets of the Apostles and thunder of the Gospels filled the cities. Incense brought by the Lord sanctified the air. Monasteries stood on hills and monks appeared. Men and women, all people great and small, filled the churches". N. N. Rozov, ed. "Sinodal'nyj spisok sočinenij Ilariona, russkogo pisatelja XI v.", Slavia 32/2 (1963): 165; L. Mueller, Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion (Munich, 1971): 43-44; Idem, Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis (Wiesbaden, 1962): 106. Despite this hyperbole it is likely that at least one monastery was founded in Vladimir's reign. The Life of Theodosij states that when Theodosij came to Kiev after 1054 he visited a number of monasteries, none of which would accept him because he was too poor; see Uspenskij sbornik: 79-81.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

founded by Prince Izjaslav/Dmitrij; Theodosij, a young man from Kursk who had joined the brotherhood sometime after 1054, was chosen to replace him. This probably occurred about 1062 as Nestor's Life of Theodosij states.[3]

Abbot Theodosij embodied a singular combination of monastic idealism and worldliness. On the one hand he defended the monastic ideal by instituting the Rule of Theodore of Studion. There are no grounds for stating that Antonij, rather than Theodosij, instituted the Rule. He admonished the brothers to observe the fasts and set an example by performing manual labor. On the other hand he permitted the monastery to own estates, frequented the prince's court and the homes of bojars and received them in the monastery. Theodosij was very friendly with Jan', one of the most powerful and influential bojars in Kiev, and was probably Izjaslav's confessor, or, at the very least, his

---

[3]For the Laura of St. Athanasios see H. Delehaye, "Byzantine Monasticism", in N. H. Baynes and H. Moss, eds., Byzantium (Oxford, 1948): 143-144. Contrary to Saxmatov's opinion, "Žitie Antonija": 132, 136-138, there is no evidence that Antonij instituted the Rule of Theodore of Studion or that any source ever claimed that he did. Moreover his obvious interest in anchoritic rather than coenobitic monasticism speaks against his instituting the Rule. It is impossible to determine if Theodosij obtained the Rule from Mixail, a monk of the Studion monastery, as the Primary Chronicle states or if Theodosij sent one of the brethren to Efrem the Castrate in Constantinople as Nestor's Life of Theodosij states; see PSRL 1: 160, 2: 148; Uspenskij sbornik: 89. The Life of Theodosij indicates that the saint joined Antonij's brotherhood in the reign of Izjaslav, that is, after 1054. The year 1062 actually refers to the year the brothers moved from the caves to the monastery above ground. Nestor recounts Theodosij's appointment immediately before this, implying that he became abbot in or about 1062. The Primary Chronicle says that the monastery was built above ground while Varlaam was still abbot. Unfortunately there is no independent source from which we can date the foundation of the Monastery of St. Demitry and thereby determine when Varlaam left the Caves Monastery; see Uspenskij sbornik: 89.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

spiritual father.[4]

Theodosij's goal was not to subordinate the monastery to the mighty. There were already princely monastic foundations on the Byzantine model which gave the founders the right to appoint the abbot or abbess, regulate the number of monks, administer the property of the monastery, to be remembered in the liturgy and be buried within the

---

[4]Several stories in Nestor's Life of Theodosij describe the abbot performing manual labor; see Uspenskij sbornik: 87, 97. In addition to the many examples of Theodosij's teaching contained in Nestor's Life there is also the long admonition to observe the Lenten fast contained in the account of Theodosij's death in the Primary Chronicle, PSRL 1: 183-186, 2: 173-176. A number of other works are attributed to Theodosij, but there is no scholarly consensus on the accuracy of the attribution; none of the works has been analyzed in a systematic way. However it is likely that the homilies for Lent were indeed written by Theodosij. For a discussion of this question and bibliography see I. P. Eremin, "Iz istorii drevnerusskoj publicistike XI veka (poslanie Feodosija Pečerskogo k knjazu Izjaslavu Jaroslaviču o latinjanax)" TODRL 2 (1935): 21-38, Idem, "Literaturnoe nasledie Feodosija Pečerskogo" Ibid. 5 (1947): 159-184; N. K. Gudzij, "O sočinenijax Feodosija Pečerskogo", in Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskix stran; sbornik statej k 70-letiju akademika M. N. Tixomirova(M., 1963): 62-66. Xarlampovič was right when he said that Theodosij's prayers included in Nestor's Life and the teaching in the Primary Chronicle, instead of being excluded from the list of Theodosij's works should provide the basis for their detailed analysis; see K. V. Xarlampovič, "O molitvax prep. Feodosija Pečerskogo", IORJaS 17 (1912): 165-174. Nestor's Life of Theodosij not only says that bojars made the brothers sizable gifts of food and money but even land. From several passages we learn that the monastery owned entire villages. See Uspenskij sbornik: 93, 105-106, 109, 111, 114, 120, 127; I. Ja. Frojanov, Kievskaja Rus'; očerki social'no-ekonomičeskoj istorii (L., 1974): 73-87. There is some indication that this trend began before Theodosij's abbacy. The first abbot, Varlaam, was the son of one of Izjaslav's bojars, and when the brothers were compelled to leave the caves and build a monastery above ground they sought land and presumably protection from Prince Izjaslav instead of moving to some deserted place; see Uspenskij sbornik: 83-85; PSRL 1: 158-159, 2: 147. In addition to visiting Izjaslav and Svjatoslav at court and receiving both in the monastery Theodosij was a frequent guest in the home of Jan'. He also must have visited the homes of the other unnamed bojars who made gifts of land and food to the monastery; see Uspenskij sbornik: 93-94, 98, 114, 122-123, 124, 126, 130; PSRL 1: 187, 212, 2: 177-178, 203.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

monastery. He wanted to make the monastery auteksousios, that is, subject to God alone but under the protection of the emperor or, in this case, the prince of Kiev.[5]

The fact that Theodosij instituted the Rule of Theodore of Studion and that he had close ties to certain members of the Kievan aristocracy eventually played a role in the appearance and spread of Theodosij's cult. However the one action which most influenced his posthumous veneration was Theodosij's energetic defense of Prince Izjaslav during the period 1068-1073, which made him a symbol of political stability and legitimate rule. The events of this period are so

---

[5]Monasteries, whether founded by laymen or by the monks themselves were subject to the bishop of the diocese in which they were located. However there were two exceptions to this rule: the auteksousios monastery, subject to God alone but under the protection of the emperor, and the stauropigialos monastery, subject to the patriarch instead of the local bishop. Both types arose, like the Cluniac reforms, from a desire to make the monastery immune to pressure from local authorities. Although the Monastery of the Caves may not have been officially auteksousios, its status was certainly very similar to that, at least, during the eleventh century. We do not hear that the Metropolitan of Kiev influenced the life of the cloister; the brothers elected their own abbot; the monastery was clearly under the protection of Izjaslav and Svjatoslav, and later of Svjatopolk. This situation changed somewhat during the twelfth century. See the article by A. Poppe on the Monastery of the Caves in SSS 3: 413-415 and Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur: 126-136; J. M. Hussey, Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire (London, 1937): 182-200; R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge. Commende et typica (X^{e} - XIV^{e} siècle)", Revue des études byzantines 22 (1964): 5-44, especially 15-18, 34-36; P. de Meester, "Les typiques de fondation (typika ktetorika)", Studi bizantini i neollenici 6 (1940): 489-508; L. Oeconomos, La vie religieuse dans l'empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges (Paris, 1918): 166-192; A. Michel, Die Kaisermacht in der Ostkirche, 843-1204, (Darmstadt, 1959): 52-53. The Monastery of St. Dmitry founded by Izjaslav was certainly a proprietary monastery of the Byzantine type. The Monastery of St. George and the convent of St. Irene, founded by Jaroslav the Wise for the glory of his patron saint and the patron saint of his wife, were also undoubtedly of this type; see PSRL 1: 151-153, 2: 139-141.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

important that they should be examined closely.

Izjaslav, who was the eldest surviving son of Jaroslav the Wise and who had been chosen by his father to succeed him, ruled in relative peace from the death of Jaroslav in 1054 until 1068. Three of Jaroslav's six sons died between 1052 and 1060, and the realm was divided between the remaining three: Izjaslav, the eldest, in Kiev; Svjatoslav in Černigov; Vsevolod, the youngest, in Perejaslavl'. Each prince had his own metropolitan bishop.[6]

This situation changed suddenly in 1068: Izjaslav's army was defeated by Polovcian nomads and the populace of Kiev revolted driving Izjaslav from Rus'. The revolt must have stirred up fears which had been dormant since the peaceful transition of power in 1054, fears of war between the sons of Jaroslav involving Polish, Norse and nomadic mercenaries similar to the wars of 1015-1019 and 1024. The author of the account of the uprising of 1068 in the Primary Chronicle directly compared Izjaslav to Svjatopolk "the damned" for having broken his oath to Vseslav of Polock and for having fled to Poland and returned with Polish troops to retake Kiev.[7]

---

[6]For Jaroslav's testament in which he designated Izjaslav his successor and divided lands among his sons see PSRL 1: 161, 2: 150. The division is also mentioned by the Skazanie of Boris and Gleb; see Uspenskij sbornik: 62. For the metropolitans of Černigov and Perejaslavl' see A. Poppe, Państwo i kościół na Rusi w XI wieku (Warsaw, 1968): 164-170; Idem, "Russkie mitropolii konstantinopol'skoj patriarxii XI stoletii", VV 28 (1968): 97-108.

[7]PSRL 1: 166-174, 2: 155-163; M. N. Tixomirov, Krest'janskie i gorodskie vosstanija na Rusi XI-XIII vv. (M., 1955): 82-104; V. V. Mavrodin, Narodnye vosstanija v drevnej Rusi XI-XIII vv. (M., 1961): 53-68. Actually Izjaslav, Svjatoslav and Vsevolod all kissed the cross and swore that they would not harm Vseslav of Polock, the son of their cousin Brjačeslav. All three broke their oath and incarcerated Vseslav and his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The evidence that Theodosij continued to support his spiritual son in 1068-1069 is ex silentio in nature: Nestor omits the entire incident in his Life of Theodosij. Moreover Antonij did reproach Izjaslav, which angered the latter to such a degree after his return to Kiev in 1069 that Antonij was forced to flee by night to Svjatoslav in Černigov.[8]

After returning to Kiev in 1069 Izjaslav's position must have remained insecure, and he decided to make use of the symbolism of the cult of Boris and Gleb to emphasize his right to rule. In order to understand this move, in which Theodosij took part, we should briefly review the development and significance of the cult of Boris and Gleb.

Boris and Gleb, two of the many sons of Vladimir the baptiser of Rus', were killed during the struggle for power which broke out after the death of their father in 1015. They were probably murdered by their stepbrother Svjatopolk as the sources relate: Boris was killed on the Al'ta river southeast of Kiev and was buried in Vyšgorod near the Church of St. Basil; Gleb was murdered near Smolensk and left unburied.[9]

Although the theory that Boris and Gleb were killed by their

---

two sons for over a year. Not only did Svjatopolk "the damned" and Izjaslav both flee to Poland and return with Polish troops, Svjatopolk was accompanied by Bolesław Chrobry, Izjaslav by Boleslaw Śmiały. Moreover both Svjatopolk and Izjaslav had Polish wives, a fact not recorded in the Primary Chronicle but perhaps remembered by the Kievans. Cross commented briefly on the unreliable nature of the chronicle account of 1068 in S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian Text (Cambridge, MA, 1953): 266, note 219.

[8] PSRL 1: 193, 2: 185.

[9] PSRL 1: 132-141, 2: 118-129; Uspenskij sbornik: 43-54; D. I. Abramovič, ed. Žitia sv. mučenikov Borisa i Gleba i služby im (Petrograd, 1916; edited and reprinted by L. Mueller, Munich, 1967): 8-14.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stepbrother Jaroslav explains certain problems connected with the beginning of their cult, it is not sufficiently well-founded to be acceptable. Nevertheless during the first portion of his reign, from 1015 until 1036, Jaroslav ruled ruthlessly: He drove his stepbrother Svjatopolk from Rus', waged war against his blood brother Mstislav, and imprisoned his brother Sudislav for over twenty years. Consequently he would not have been displeased that his stepbrothers Boris and Gleb were dead and out of the way.[10]

By the 1040's, however, the situation was entirely different: Jaroslav ruled alone, but had six sons, each of whom would have wanted a portion of the realm. Jaroslav probably became concerned that the kingdom for which he had fought and worked for so long would break apart after his death as it had after the death of his father Vladimir. To prevent this he tried, together with the largely Greek clergy of Kiev which was extremely desirous of political stability, to create an eternal reminder of the effects of civil war. In 1044 the remains of Jaroslav's uncles Oleg and Jaropolk, who were killed between 976 and 980 during a struggle for the throne of Kiev, were "baptised" and laid to rest with Vladimir in the Church of the Tithe.[11]

---

[10] Il'in, Letopisnaja stat'ja 6523 goda: 71-169. For a short critique of Il'in's theory see L. Mueller, "Neuere Forschungen ueber das Leben und die kultische Verehrung der Heiligen Boris and Gleb", Opera Slavica 4 (1963): 311-313. The wars with Svjatopolk are described in all three accounts of the death of Boris and Gleb; see note 9 above. For Mstislav and Sudislav see PSRL 1: 147-149, 151, 162: 2: 134-137, 139, 151.

[11] Jaroslav's six sons were: Vladimir, Izjaslav, Svjatoslav, Vsevolod, Vjačeslav and Igor'. For the translation of 1044 see PSRL 1: 155; 2: 143.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It is likely that Gleb's remains were brought from Smjadyn' to Vyšgorod at this time. After a number of miracles had occurred at the graves of Boris and Gleb their remains were unearthed, placed in a church built to them and an annual feast to their memory was established on July 24. This probably occurred in 1052. The Greek speaking clergy of Kiev wrote the first hagiographic work about the brothers in Greek and a liturgy was composed from a translation of the kontakion to the Byzantine St. Procopios.[12]

The cult of Boris and Gleb did not develop significantly after the canonization under Jaroslav the Wise; the veneration of the brothers was not yet widespread and the political symbolism of the cult was not needed, since the transition upon the death of Jaroslav in 1054 had been peaceful. After the events of 1068 the need arose. Izjaslav sought to compel his brothers to maintain the existing political order by joining together in a solemn memorial to their uncles slain over half a century earlier. Although the sources say that Izjaslav planned this act because of the need to rebuild the wooden church constructed

---

[12]The anonymous Skazanie says that Gleb's remains lay unburied "so many years"; Nestor's Life states that Jaroslav sought Gleb's body one year after taking power, that is, in 1020. In fact both accounts are devoid of concrete details and are extremely hagiographic in nature, suggesting that the translation either occurred shortly after Gleb's death and was of little significance, or else that it occurred at the end of Jaroslav's reign and that an attempt was made to hide the delay of twenty to thirty years; see Uspenskij sbornik: 55-56; Žitija...Borisa i Gleba: 14-15. A. Poppe has put forward strong evidence that the cult of Boris and Gleb began late in Jaroslav's reign and that the feast of July 24 was probably established in 1052; see "O vremeni zarožděnija kul'ta Borisa i Gleba": 6-29; Idem, "Opowieść o męczeństwie i cudach Borysa i Gleba", Slavia orientalis 1969, No. 3: 367-377. For the works on Boris and Gleb see F. Keller, "Das Kontakion aus der ersten Služba fuer Boris und Gleb", Slavica Helvetica 1973: 65-74; L. Mueller, "Studien zur altrussichen Legende der Heiligen Boris und Gleb", Zeitschrift fuer slavische Philologie, 25 (1956): 355-361, 27 (1959): 274-322, 30 (1962): 14-44.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by Jaroslav the Wise, there can be little doubt that there was a deeper reason.[13]

The event took place on May 20, 1072. It was the eve of the feast of Constantine and Helen, and followed a number of other important church holidays: Athanasius of Alexandria on May 2, John the Evangelist on May 8, and the founding of Constantinople on May 11. In the presence of the Metropolitans Georgios of Kiev and Neofit of Černigov, the Bishops of Perejaslavl', Belgorod, and Jur'ev, Theodosij of the Caves Monastery and two other abbots, the Princes Izjaslav, Svjatoslav and Vsevolod joined in an act of fraternal unity: together they carried the wooden coffin containing Boris' remains on their shoulders to the new church built by Izjaslav. Gleb's remains, in a stone sarcophagus, were brought on a sled. The relics were examined by Metropolitan Georgios who declared the brothers saints. Then, in an act of great symbolism, the Metropolitan blessed the three sons of Jaroslav, and placed the remains of Gleb's hand on a boil on Svjatoslav's head to cure him. The princes and prelates feasted together and distributed money among the masses.[14]

Theodosij's role in the translation of 1072 was enshrined by Nestor the hagiographer some years later when he wrote a new Life (čtenie)

---

[13] Both the Skazanie of Boris and Gleb and Nestor's Life proceed from the canonization under Jaroslav to Jaroslav's death and then to the translation of 1072 without recounting a single miracle or other event connected with the cult of the brothers.

[14] PSRL 1: 181-182, 2: 171-172; Uspenskij sbornik: 62-63; Žitija... Borisa i Gleba: 21-22. The Laurentian MS. says that the event took place on May 2, however all the other sources and MSS. say that the event occurred on May 20. For a calendar of Byzantine holy days celebrated in Rus' in the eleventh century see P. S. Biljarskij, "Sostav i mesjacoslov Mstislavova spiska evangelija", Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk, Vtoroe otdelenie (po russkomu jazyku i slovesnosti) Izvestija 10 (1861): 129-130.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of Boris and Gleb. Although Nestor's account of the festival of May 20 was borrowed from another work on the same event, certain elements were changed to emphasize the connection between Izjaslav, Theodosij and the slain princes. Nestor only mentioned three people by name: Metropolitan Georgios, Izjaslav and Theodosij, "shining like the sun among them, adorned with his virtues". In order to avoid any misunderstanding, Nestor concluded the Life with a clear statement of the meaning of the cult:

> Do you see, brothers, what high obedience the saints acquired for their older brother? For if they had resisted him, God would hardly have rewarded them with such a marvellous gift. Nowadays there are many younger princes who do not obey their elders but resist them and are killed. They are not rewarded with such grace as these saints. For what is more miraculous than these saints? Being in such honor and glory they had such obedience as to give themselves up to death. But we have not enough obedience to our elders: sometimes we speak against them, sometimes we reproach them, many times we resist them.[15]

The translation of May 20 may have been planned as an annual gathering of the three brothers, but the next meeting never took place: Ten months later Izjaslav was again driven from Kiev by his younger brothers. Svjatoslav became Prince of Kiev; Izjaslav spent the next four years in exile trying to gather support, and only returned after Svjatoslav died on December 27, 1076.[16]

---

[15] Zitija...Borisa i Gleba: 21-22, 25. Nestor's account of the translation of 1072 is an adaptation of the version appended to the anonymous Skazanie of Boris and Gleb.

[16] PSRL 1: 182-183, 199, 2: 172-173, 190. For a study of Izjaslav's four years in exile see D. Oljancyn, "Zur Regierung des Grossfuersten Izjaslaw-Dymiter von Kiev", Jahrbuecher fuer die Geschichte Osteuropas 8/4 (1960): 397-410; V. L. Janin, "Russkaja knjaginja Olisava-Gertruda i ee syn Jaropolk", Numizmatika i epigrafika 4 (1963): 153-155, 160-163.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This time Theodosij energetically defended Izjaslav's right to rule, and risked imprisonment for his castigation of Svjatoslav. He compared the latter to Cain saying, in an epistle, "the blood of your brother cries out". When Svjatoslav visited the monastery Theodosij lectured him on the obligations of a brother and told the prince directly: "do my will and return your brother to the throne". Of even greater significance was Theodosij's use of the liturgy to reproach Svjatoslav: He commanded that prayers of intercession (ektenie) be said during services in the monastery for Izjaslav, not Svjatoslav, as the ruler of Kiev. Probably as a result of pressure from the other brothers of the monastery Theodosij relented somewhat, visiting Svjatoslav more often and accepting his gift of land and money to found a stone church dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin.[17]

Theodosij came to be viewed as a symbol of political stability and legitimate rule not only because he took a personal stand against Svjatoslav, but because his actions marked a turning-point in the relations between the princes of Kiev and the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Rus'.

Before the events of 1068-1073 the monarch and the Church of Rus' had worked in harmony: The former influenced the church but the latter had little influence on political life, although individual members of the clergy functioned as ambassadors and neutral mediators from time to time. Theodosij was the first churchman, as far as we know, to attempt to influence the prince of Kiev in a purely political

---

[17] Uspenskij sbornik: 121-125.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

matter. He could attempt this because of his personal prestige, the importance of the Monastery of the Caves among the aristocracy of Kiev and its privileged position as an institution under the monarch's protection.

After the events of 1068-1073 the church as a whole and the Monastery of the Caves in particular became increasingly cast in the role of guardian of the unity of Rus' and of legitimate royal authority as unified political power disintegrated. The significance and symbolic nature of Theodosij's actions increased as this trend continued.[18]

These were the main events in the monastic careers of Antonij and Theodosij which influenced their subsequent veneration. Antonij, who was tonsured on Mt. Athos, was a devoted anchorite and apparently played a secondary role in his own monastery during the last years of his life. Theodosij combined monastic idealism and worldly involvement in such a way that he was remembered as the founder of the koinobion in Rus' and the defender of political stability and legitimate rule.

Theodosij died on May 3, 6582 (1074) just over a year after Izjaslav was driven from the throne a second time. The manner and date of Theodosij's death are recorded in two slightly different accounts, one in the Primary Chronicle under the year 6582 (1074), the other in Nestor's Life of Theodosij. The accounts describe Theodosij's knowledge of his death; his selection of a new abbot without interference from the

---

[18] A. Poppe, "Le prince et l'église en Russie de Kiev depuis la fin du Xe siècle et jusqu'au début du XIIe siècle", Acta Poloniae Historica 20 (1969): 101-106, 115; Idem, Państwo i kościół: 218-234.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Prince of Kiev or Metropolitan; his last visit with Svjatoslav during which he requested the prince to protect the monastery; his final teachings and admonitions and his death. "When the eighth day had come, the second Saturday after Easter, he commended his soul into the hands of God in the second hour of the day, on the third day of the month of May, in the eleventh year of the indiction". Theodosij was buried in the cave in which he had spent the Lenten fast.[19]

It is likely that Antonij was dead by this time, although this can only be deduced indirectly. Since the uncertainty surrounding Antonij's passing contrasts sharply with the detailed accounts of Theodosij's death, and provides proof that Antonij was not venerated in the Kievan period, the event should be examined closely.

As we saw in Chapter One, the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named in the Primary Chronicle states that Antonij began his monastic career in Rus' in or about 1051 and that he lived as a hermit for forty years. This of course is prima facie evidence that he died in the 1090's. Nevertheless the following references provide more convincing proof that Antonij died before Theodosij.

The Primary Chronicle relates that when Izjaslav returned to Kiev in 1069 he was so angered because of Antonij's defense of Vseslav of Polock that the holy man was forced to flee to Černigov. Consequently,

---

[19] PSRL 1: 184-188, 2: 173-179; Uspenskij sbornik: 127-130. Only the chronicle account mentions Theodosij's final meeting with Svjatoslav, but Nestor refers to it indirectly when he says that Svjatoslav saw a pillar of fire over the monastery and knew that Theodosij had died, "for he was with him the day before".

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Antonij was alive in 1069. On the other hand, Antonij is not mentioned at the ceremony of laying the corner stone of the Church of the Dormition on August 15, 1073, nor was he involved in selecting Theodosij's successor as abbot when the latter died on May 3, 1074. Since Antonij had personally chosen the first abbot, Varlaam, and then Theodosij, it appears certain that he was dead by May 3, 1074 and probably by August 15, 1073.[20]

The only positive indication when Antonij died is found in the tale of the arrival of the Greek architects now in the Kievan Caves Patericon. The architects described a vision in which the Virgin told them: "Antonij, having only blessed (the site for the church) will depart this world for the eternal one, and Theodosij will meet his maker in the second year after him". Since Theodosij died on May 3, 6582 (1074) it would appear, if we choose to give any credence to this tale, that Antonij died in 6580, that is, March 1, 1072 through February 28, 1073. As we saw in Chapter One the reference to Antonij's death in 6581 in the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle is an interpolation derived from other stories in the Kievan Caves Patericon and therefore totally unreliable.[21]

---

[20]Antonij's flight to Černigov is mentioned in PSRL 1: 193, 2: 185. The celebration of laying the corner stone of the Church of the Dormition is mentioned Ibid. 1: 183, 2: 173. The Primary Chronicle only says that the church was founded in 1073, but the azimuth of the axis of the church indicates that it was founded on August 15; see P. A. Rappoport, "Orientacija drevnerusskix cerkvej", ANSSSR, Institut arxeologii, Kratkie soobščenija 139 (1974): 47. The selection of Theodosij's successor is recounted in the story of Theodosij's death, PSRL 1: 184-188, 2: 173-179; Uspenskij sbornik: 127-130.

[21]KPP: 6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The day of Antonij's death is equally uncertain: the date is not recorded in any source whatsoever. In the early fifteenth century Antonij was added to the liturgical books under May 7; by the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, he begins to appear under July 10, which is his feast in the Russian Orthodox Church today. There is good reason to believe that neither of these dates is reliable.[22]

Kadlubovskij was the first to demonstrate that the deaths of a number of saints of Rus' were never recorded. In particular the days on which SS. Avraamij of Rostov, Antonij Rimljanin, Efrem of Perejaslavl', Evfrosinija of Suzdal' and Merkurij of Smolensk died were forgotten and each saint was assigned to the holy day of the Byzantine saint with the same name. This is not surprising; even Theodosij, whose passing is recorded so clearly, occasionally appears in the liturgical books under January 11, the feast of Theodosios the Coenobiarch. Antonij, however, never appears under January 17, the feast of Anthony of Egypt and of the Novgorodian saint Antonij Rimljanin. What was the origin of the feasts of May 7 and July 10?[23]

The feast of May 7 was chosen, as Chapter Three will demonstrate

---

[22]See Appendix One, Nos. 168-179. Antonij also appears under July 10 in the famous Ivaničskaja mineja of the mid-sixteenth century; see G. K. Bugoslavksij, "Ivaničskie mesjacnye minei 1547-1549 gg. i soderžajasja v nix služba sv. mučenikam-knjazjam Borisu i Glebu", Čtenija istoričeskogo obščestva Nestora letopisca 14, kniga 2 (1900): 45. For the feast of July 10 in the contemporary Eastern Orthodox Church see the printed Mineja for that month (Kiev, 1894) and N. Edelby, Liturgikon; "Messbuch" der byzantinischen Kirche (Recklinghausen, 1967): 1023-1024.

[23]A. P. Kadlubovskij, "Očerki", Russkij filologičeskij vestnik 37 (1897): 128. For the appearance of the feast of Theodosij under January 10 see CGADA. f. 381, MS. 3, Sbornik, XV-XVIIth centuries, described in A. A. Pokrovskij, Biblioteka moskovskoj-sinodal'noj tipografii (M., 1896-1912) 1, vypusk 1: 21-22.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in greater detail, so that Antonij would become part of a cycle of holy days in the month of May which included Boris and Gleb, Theodosij, Nicholas of Myra, the saints of Rostov and certain Byzantine festivals. July 10 probably appeared as a result of a conflicting desire to have Antonij, the founder of monasticism in Rus', venerated in connection with Vladimir, the baptiser of Rus' (July 15) and Boris and Gleb, the first saints of Rus' (July 24).

The confusion surrounding Antonij's death contrasts so sharply with the detailed description of Theodosij's passing that we must conclude that the day and year of Antonij's death were never recorded and that he was not venerated in the Kievan era. This is confirmed by the evidence of the South and East Slavic manuscript traditions presented in Chapter One, which make no reference to Antonij until after the year 1400.

One can only guess why Antonij was so totally ignored that even the date of his death was forgotten. It is tempting to explain this by referring to Antonij's support of Vseslav in 1068, Izjaslav's wrath and Antonij's flight to Černigov. However this explanation is unsatisfactory, since one cannot assume that this alone would have caused the annalists of the Monastery of the Caves to eliminate all references in their chronicles to the death of the founder. Nikon's flight to Tmutarakan' evoked no such reaction. Ultimately we must conclude that Antonij, having founded the Monastery of the Caves, lived the life of the hermit so avidly that he did not play a significant role in the guidance and growth of the brotherhood. In addition ecclesiastics and laymen alike may have felt that Antonij's anchoritic monasticism was dangerous in the newly converted land, and that all monks should be subject to the rule for the sake of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the monastic ideal and for the formation of the regular clergy.[24]

Theodosij, on the other hand, appears to have been venerated by the monks of the Monastery of the Caves immediately after his death, probably because of his piety, wisdom and guidance as abbot, and as the founder of the koinobion in Rus'. The remainder of this chapter will discuss the origin of Theodosij's cult and Priselkov's interpretation.

The most significant indication that Theodosij was venerated shortly after his death, at least within the monastery, is the fact that Nestor wrote the Life of Theodosij before 1091 and probably before 1088, and that in the Life Nestor says of Theodosij: "We commemorate the day of his death henceforth by celebrating". Since the date of composition of the Life of Theodosij is important for the history of his cult and has also been the subject of considerable scholarly debate, it is appropriate to digress and discuss the question in detail.[25]

Nestor's statement about commemorating Theodosij's death has caused some scholars to assert that the entire Life could only have been written after 1108 when Theodosij's name was formally added to the synodikon, that is, when an annual feast to his memory was established which was to be celebrated throughout the Church of Rus'. However a number of arguments indicate that the Life was written before 1091 or even before

---

[24]G. P. Fedotov believed that Antonij was not venerated because of his preference for anchoritic monasticism, but he did not discuss the question in detail; see his book, The Russian Religious Mind (Cambridge, MA, 1946-1966) 1: 110-131, 151-157.

[25]Uspenskij sbornik: 72.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1088.[26]

The strongest argument is based on the fact that Theodosij's remains were unearthed on August 14, 1091 and that this event is only mentioned in the Primary Chronicle, not in the Life of Theodosij. This is usually called an argument ex silentio, but this is incorrect, for Nestor states very clearly that Theodosij's remains had not yet been unearthed at the time the Life was written. He says that Theodosij "retired on fast days to his holy cave, and there his venerable body has been placed".[27]

Scholars who believe that the Life of Theodosij was written after 1108 claim that Nestor simply omitted the account of the unearthing of Theodosij's remains. The most recent advocate of this veiw, A. G. Kuz'min, explains Nestor's omission by asserting that Nestor was not obliged to record anything after Theodosij's death, and that the unearthing of 1091 would no longer have been of interest if Nestor wrote in the 1120's and was not in the immediate vicinity of Kiev.[28]

---

[26]L. V. Čerepnin, "'Povest' vremennyx let', ee redakcii i predšestvujušie ej letopisnye svody", Istoričeskie zapiski 25 (1948): 311-312. Long before Čerepnin, Bugoslavskij asserted that the Life was written about 1108 but emphasized Nestor's statement that he gathered information about Theodosij "from monks older than myself/ot drevnix mne otec'". Supposedly Nestor would not have written this phrase, which indicates that many years had passed, if he had written in the 1080's. For Nestor's statement see Uspenskij sbornik: 134. Bugoslavskij's views are clearly expressed in his article "K voprosu o xaraktere i ob"eme literaturnoj dejatel'nosti prep. Nestora", IORJaS 19, kniga 1 (1914): 174-176. Bugoslavskij's opinion was accepted by the Academy of Sciences in their ten volume Istorija russkoj literatury 1: 329-332. The addition of Theodosij to the synodikon in 1108 will be discussed below.

[27]Uspenskij sbornik: 89-90. The unearthing of Theodosij's remains in 1091 will be discussed below.

[28]Kuz'min, Načal'nye etapy: 148-155.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This view ignores the fact that Nestor was well versed in Byzantine hagiography and took great care to make the biographies of Theodosij and Boris and Gleb conform to the vita/bios genre, tracing the saints' lives from youth and religious calling to death, miracles and, in the case of Boris and Gleb, transferral of their remains. Moreover Nestor joined the Monastery of the Caves under Abbot Stefan, that is, before 1076, and gathered information about Theodosij from those who had known him. Kuz'min would have us believe that Nestor then waited half a century to write the Life of Theodosij, which adheres to the norms of the genre, but neglected to describe the most important facts about the saint, namely the uncovery of his uncorrupted remains in 1091 and the establishment of an annual feast in 1108![29]

There are several other arguments based on internal evidence which indicate that the Life of Theodosij was written before 1091:

1) At the end of the Life Nestor states that Abbot Stefan was driven from the monastery by the monks and that Nikon was elected to replace him. However he does not mention Nikon's death in 1088, implying that the Life was composed before this date.

2) There is an indication that Nestor obtained firsthand information from Sofronij, who is called Abbot of the Vydubickij Monastery; we

---

[29]Nestor states that he was tonsured by Abbot Stefan at the conclusion of the Life of Theodosij; see Uspenskij sbornik: 134-135. For a discussion of Nestor's familiarity with Byzantine hagiography see A. A. Šaxmatov, "Neskol'ko slov o Nestorovom Žitii Feodosija" IORJaS 1, No. 1 (1896): 46-65; D. I. Abramovič, "K voprosu ob istočnikax Nesterova Žitija prep. Feodosija Pečerskogo" Ibid. 3, kniga 1 (1898): 243-246; Bugoslavskij "K voprosu": 147-155; F. Siefkes, Zur Form des Žitie Feodosija; vergleichende Studien zur byzantinischen und altrussischen Literatur (Bad Homburg, Berlin, Zuerich, 1970): 149-271.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

know that Sofronij was indeed Abbot in 1072 but not in 1088.

3) Nestor's Life of Theodosij fails to mention Vsevolod, Izjaslav's youngest brother, during the events of 1068-1074, although Vsevolod was just as guilty as Svjatoslav, implying that the Life was written during Vsevolod's reign, 1079-1093.[30]

The question of the date of composition of the Life of Theodosij is admittedly complex, but the strongest arguments still indicate that the Life was written in the 1080's and under no circumstances after the uncovery of Theodosij's remains on August 14, 1091. The very fact that the Life was written, and the statement that "we commemorate the day of his death henceforth by celebrating" prove that Theodosij was venerated shortly after his death by the brethren of the monastery.

Further proof that Theodosij was venerated is found in the three posthumous micracles which are described by Nestor and which therefore must have occurred between May 3, 1074, and the completion of the Life.

The first miracle involved a bojar who had incurred the anger of an unnamed prince, presumably Vsevolod, and who feared that he would be imprisoned. The bojar called upon Theodosij for aid; the latter appeared to the bojar in a dream promising that he would be restored to the prince's favor, which in fact occurred. The second miracle took place in the Monastery of the Caves: A layman going on a journey left money with a monk in the monastery for safekeeping. Another monk, Nikola by name,

---

[30] Uspenskij sbornik: 93, 133-134; A. Poppe, "Chronologia utworów Nestora hagiografa", Slavia orientalis 14, No. 3 (1965): 292-297, with a summary of the major points of view on the date of composition of the Life of Theodosij. Nikon's death is mentioned in PSRL 1: 207, 2: 199.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stole the money. The first monk prayed to Theodosij for help, and in a dream saw the former abbot who revealed the details of the theft, enabling him to recover the stolen money. The third miracle involved a presbyter of the cathedral chapter (kliros) of St. Sophia, who was sick with fever. He had a vision of Theodosij who gave him a staff and told him to walk with it. The presbyter obeyed and was immediately cured.[31]

The only other recorded miracle worked by Theodosij took place in 1130, and is very similar to the miracle of the monk Nikola. Georgij, the son of Simon the Varangian who gave the golden belt to the monastery, was serving in Suzdal' as the general (tysjackij) of Jurij Dolgorukij. Georgij sent his bojar Vasilij to Kiev with 500 grivnas of silver and 50 of gold to decorate Theodosij's sarcophagus. Vasilij decided that this was a waste and kept a fifth of the wealth for himself. Theodosij appeared to him in a vision and warned him against doing this, but to no avail. When Vasilij arrived in Černigov he fell from his horse and broke his leg. Theodosij appeared to him again, warning him and promising that his leg would be cured at his tomb in the monastery. At the same time Timofej, Abbot of the monastery, had a vision in which he was warned of Vasilij's deception. When Vasilij was cured as promised the Abbot astounded him by demanding the entire 550 grivnas which Georgij had given.[32]

Although the first three posthumous miracles offer additional

---

[31] Uspenskij sbornik: 131-133.

[32] KPP: 84-86. Georgij's decoration of Theodosij's tomb is mentioned very briefly in PSRL 2: 293.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

proof that Theodosij was venerated before the uncovery of his remains in 1091, the number and nature of these miracles indicates at the same time the limits of this veneration. Only three miracles occurred between Theodosij's death and the composition of his Life, the minimum required for canonization, and as far as we can tell only one miracle occurred thereafter. Furthermore only two of these miracles involved miraculous cures; the other two were visions or premonitions.

The importance of these observations becomes clearer if we compare the miracles worked by Theodosij with those of other miracle-workers popular in Rus'; if we do, we see a notable difference in the number and nature of the miracles. Boris and Gleb were credited with eleven miracles during the course of the eleventh century alone; some fifteen miracles of Nicholas of Myra were translated from Greek and known in Rus', plus two which occurred in Kiev. In the fifteenth century twelve miracles were attributed to Sergij of Radonež. Of the eleven miracles of Boris and Gleb, three involved the curing of lame people, three the curing of blind people, one the curing of a woman with a paralyzed arm, and two the liberation of prisoners from dungeons. Moreover during the translation of 1072 Prince Svjatoslav used the remains of the brothers to cure a boil on his head. Most of the miracles of Nicholas of Myra and Sergij of Radonež were cures, although some of Nicholas' miracles involved money, similar in nature to the miracles of the monk Nikola and bojar Vasilij worked by Theodosij.[33]

---

[33] For the miracles of Boris and Gleb see Uspenskij sbornik: 59-67, and Žitija...Borisa i Gleba: 16-24. For the miracles of Nicholas of Myra see Leonid, Posmertnye čudesa svjatitelja Nikolaja, Arxiepiskopa Mirlikijskogo čudotvorca (SPb., 1888; PDPI No. 72). The miracles of Sergij of Radonež are found in the VMČ September: 1452-1462.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In short, Theodosij can neither be considered one of the most popular saints of Rus' nor a great miracle-worker. His cult might not have spread beyond the walls of the monastery had it not been influenced by three other factors. Firstly, as a result of his defense of Prince Izjaslav, Theodosij was venerated by Izjaslav's family for three generations, including Izjaslav's sons Jaropolk and Svjatopolk, who wanted to be associated with the symbolism of Theodosij's cult to defend their legitimate right to rule. Secondly, Theodosij was venerated by some of the most important families in Kiev--Jan' and his wife Maria, Evpraksija, the daughter of Vsevolod, Simon the Varangian and his son Georgij--who had known Theodosij during his lifetime and who wished to be buried near the holy man for the salvation of their souls. Lastly, the cults of Theodosij and of the Virgin became formally linked after the unearthing of Theodosij's remains in 1091.

All of these factors only began to influence the cult after the unearthing of Theodosij's remains in 1091 and their transferral to the stone Church of the Dormition of the Virgin which Theodosij had founded. This event marked a turning point because Theodosij's remains were placed above ground where they could be openly venerated like those of Boris and Gleb in Vyšgorod. Although the descendants of Izjaslav and certain aristocratic familites such as Jan' and Maria and Georgij Simonovič were undoubtedly devoted to Theodosij's memory from the moment of his death, his veneration was without focus as long as he was buried in an uncertain spot in a cave. As soon as his tomb was placed above ground in the church the cult became concretized: One could pray at Theodosij's tomb, as did Svjatopolk some years later, and hope to be buried near Theodosij, as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

many in fact were.

The unearthing of Theodosij's corporeal remains was organized to fall on the second anniversary of the completion of the stone church which he had founded (August 14, 1089/August 14, 1091). This was also the eve of the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin to which the church was dedicated (August 15). In the night between the 13th and 14th of August, 1091, Abbot Ioann had Theodosij's remains unearthed and found them uncorrupted, a noncanonical but widely accepted proof of sanctity. The next morning Theodosij's body was brought to the stone church and placed in a chapel on the right side. The translation was witnessed by Metropolitan Efrem of Perejaslavl' and Marin of Jur'ev, former monks of the Monastery of the Caves, Bishop Stefan of Vladimir in Volyn', formerly Abbot of the monastery, Bishop Ioann of Černigov, Abbot Kliment of the Monastery of the Virgin at Klov and other ecclesiastics.[34]

As a result of this event the veneration of Theodosij became connected with the veneration of the Virgin. The transfer of Theodosij's remains was remembered and celebrated annually on the eve of the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin, and the presence of Theodosij's tomb in the Church of the Dormition which he had founded linked the two cults through their physical surroundings.

---

[34] PSRL 1: 209-211, 2: 199-203. The uncorrupted state of the remains was seen as a proof of sanctity in Russia from the beginning of the cult of Boris and Gleb until the nineteenth century. Gleb's remains were supposedly uncorrupted after lying on the riverbank for many years. The remains of both Boris and Gleb were examined by Metropolitan Ioann, in the time of Jaroslav the Wise, and by Metropolitan Georgij in 1072; see Uspenskij sbornik: 55, 60, 62; Žitija...Borisa i Gleba: 14, 17, 21; PSRL 1: 181-182, 2: 171-172.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A number of references in the written sources indicate that this joint veneration of Theodosij and the Virgin was more than a formality. We read that someone had "great love for Theodosij and the Virgin" or that "he died in the Monastery of the Caves, a slave of the blessed Mother of God and a disciple of our father Theodosij." Svjatopolk attributed his victory over the nomads on August 12, 1107 to the supernatural aid of both. The fact that several women were especially devoted to Theodosij, or at least to the monastery--Jaropolk's wife Cunigundis, their daughter Anastasia, who was born in 1074 and so could not have known Theodosij, Maria the wife of Jan' and Evpraksija--may also be proof of this.[35]

The idea that Theodosij and the Virgin were jointly venerated is not as strange as it might appear at first glance; there is other evidence that the new saints of Rus' were venerated in conjunction with established, Byzantine saints. Indeed, even the cult of Boris and Gleb appears to have been connected in some way with the cult of SS. Nicholas and George. Proof of this is found in the story of the miracles which occurred after the translation of Boris and Gleb in 1072. A woman in Dorogobuž, a town about 300 kilometers from Kiev, refused to go to the Church of St. Nicholas on the saint's feast day, December 6. As a punishment for this she was struck down and her right arm paralyzed. She was cured three years later when she heard of the miracles of Boris and Gleb, went to Vyšgorod

---

[35]PSRL 1: 282, 2: 258, 483-484, 492-493; KPP: 4, 86, 136-137. Nevertheless iconographic and archaeological evidence indicates that the Church of the Tithe was the focus of the cult of the Virgin in Kiev and an imitation of the Church of the Virgin at Blachernae; see Rappaport, "Orientacija": 43-48; V. N. Lazarev, Mozaiki Sofii kievskoj (M., 1060): 29-30, 99-102.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and prayed at their tombs.

Another example is found in the account of the miracles of Nicholas of Myra. In this case, however, the miracle was worked by St. Nicholas on the feast of Boris and Gleb. A certain man who was devoted to SS. Nicholas, Boris and Gleb was travelling in a small boat on the Dnieper from Kiev to Vyšgorod with his wife and child to celebrate the feast of the slain princes. The child fell overboard and was lost. However that night the child, miraculously saved by St. Nicholas the patron saint of sailors, was brought to St. Sophia and placed beneath a fresco of St. Nicholas. In yet another story included in the miracles of Boris and Gleb, a blind man in an unspecified town in Rus' prayed at the Church of St. George to be cured. St. George appeared to the man and told him to go to Vyšgorod to the tombs of Boris and Gleb to receive his sight. The blind man obeyed and the promise was fulfilled.[36]

The second factor which helped to spread the cult of Theodosij beyond the monastery walls was the devotion of a number of important aristocratic families, in particular by Jan' and his wife Maria, Evpraksija the daughter of Vsevolod, Simon the Varangian and his son Georgij, and Gleb the son of Vseslav of Polock and his wife Anastasija. These people venerated Theodosij because, with the exception of Anastasija, they had known him during his lifetime and honored him for his saintliness. The Primary Chronicle says that Theodosij frequented the home of Jan' and Maria to teach them Christian doctrine, while the Kievan Caves Patericon

---

[36] Uspenskij sbornik: 64-65; Žitija...Borisa i Gleba: 23-25; Leonid, Posmertnye čudesa: 43-46.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recounts the meetings between Simon the Varangian and Theodosij which finally caused the former to convert to Orthodoxy.[37]

The veneration of Theodosij by these members of the aristocracy was expressed in rich gifts to the Monastery of the Caves and in the desire to be buried near the holy man. As a result of the latter the stone Church of the Dormition of the Virgin which Theodosij had founded and in which he was buried became an aristocratic mausoleum whose importance surpassed that of every other burial spot in Kiev. This aspect of the cult of Theodosij is so distinctive that it should be examined more closely.[38]

The first mausoleum of Christian Kiev was the Church of the Mother of God, known as the Church of the Tithe, begun by Vladimir shortly after his conversion as his palace church or capella regia. The Church of the Tithe was not only built to satisfy the religious needs of the monarch of Rus' and his family but to glorify, even sanctify, the dynasty by serving as a mausoleum where the baptiser of Rus' and his princess, "born in the purple", were buried together with the relics of Clement of Rome. Its symbolism was apparently derived from the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.[39]

Although the Primary Chronicle mentions a church dedicated to the Holy Apostles in Berestovo near Kiev, we know nothing about it, not even

---

[37]PSRL 1: 211-212, 283, 2: 203-204, 260, 492-493; KPP: 1-5.

[38]For gifts to the Monastery of the Caves after Theodosij's death see especially the miracle of Georgij Simonovič, KPP: 84-86, and PSRL 2: 492-493.

[39]The Laurentian Chronicle assigns the foundation of the Church of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

if it was built by Vladimir or Jaroslav. It was the Church of the Tithe, dedicated to the Virgin, which combined the same elements of church, mausoleum and reliquary found in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: The sarcophagi of Vladimir and Anna stood in the middle of the Church, which was furnished with the relics of Pope St. Clement brought by Vladimir from Cherson. Although Clement was not an Apostle by any strict definition, he was undoubtedly considered one by the criteria of the time.[40]

---

the Tithe to 989, the Hypatian Chronicle to 991; see PSRL 1: 121-122, 2: 106. For a discussion of the Church of the Tithe as capella regia see Poppe, Państwo i kościół: 40-42; Idem, "Russkie mitropolii: 86-96. The Church of the Holy Apostles was built, or at least begun, by Constantine the the Great as his last resting place. What were thought to be the relics of the Apostle Andrew, of Timothy the companion of Paul, and of Luke the Evangelist were placed in the church by Constantius in 356 and 357. Later, for reasons which are still debated, Constantine's body was removed to an adjoining mausoleum which became the burial spot of the great majority of Byzantine emperors. Current scholars tend to assign the construction of the church to Constantius, and believe that the account of Constantine's attempt to be venerated as an Apostle is apocryphal; see G. Downey, "The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople" Dumbarton Oaks Papers 6 (1951): 53-80; P. Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)", Ibid. 16 (1962): 4-5. However Krautheimer's defense of the earliest sources and their traditional interpretation is, in my opinion, convincing; see R. Krautheimer, "Zu Konstantins Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel", Jahrbuch fuer Antike und Christentum, Ergaenzungsband 1 (1964,= Festschrift fuer Theodor Klauser): 224-229. The Church of the Holy Apostles was also imitated in Western Europe; see N. Grass, "Koenigskirche und Staatssymbolik", Gedaechtnisschrift Hans Peters (Berlin, 1967): 66-96; K. H. Krueger, Koenigsgrabkirchen der Franken, Angelsachsen und Langobarden bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts (Munich, 1971).

[40]According to the Primary Chronicle Berestovo was a princely residence at least from the time of Vladimir who kept a harem there. The chronicle also says that Jaroslav the Wise was fond of Berestovo and the Church of the Holy Apostles. Ilarion was a presbyter of the church before becoming metropolitan; see PSRL 1: 60, 155-156; 2: 67, 144. Clement was Bishop of Rome in the first century; according to his martyrium he was exiled to Cherson in the time of Trajan and killed; see Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca (Paris, 1857-1866) 2: 617-631; A. I. Sobolevskij,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Church of the Tithe ceased to be an exclusive dynastic mausoleum as early as 1054 when Jaroslav the Wise chose to be buried in the Cathedral of St. Sophia. However it was not devoid of dynastic significance; we should note that in 1044 Jaroslav unearthed and "baptized" the remains of his uncles Oleg and Jaropolk, who were killed between 976 and 980 during a struggle for the throne of Kiev and laid them to rest in the Church of the Tithe. In 1078 Izjaslav, Jaroslav's eldest surviving son and chosen successor, was buried there rather than in the Cathedral of St. Sophia with his father or in the Monastery of St. Demitry which he had founded. On the other hand Svjatoslav, Izjaslav's brother, chose not to be buried in Kiev at all but in Černigov![41]

Žitija svjatyx po drevne-russkim spiskam (SPb., 1903): 7-16;Idem, "Čudo sv. Klimenta papy rimskogo; drevne-russkoe 'slovo' do-mongol'skogo perioda", IORJaS 6, kniga 1 (1901): 1-8. Vladimir supposedly brought some of Clement's remains from Cherson to Kiev, and placed them in the Church of the Tithe; PSRL 1: 116, 122, 2: 101, 106. According to the eleventh century German chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg, the sarcophagi of Vladimir and Anna were placed in the middle of the Church of the Tithe which contained Clement's relics; see Thietmar of Merseburg, Chronicon, ed. by R. Holtzman and W. Trillmich (Darmstadt, 1962): 436, and Poppe, "Russkie mitropolii": 87-88. Clement would certainly have been considered an Apostle. In the first century Paul called himself an Apostle although he was not, 1 Cor 9:1. By the fourth century the evangelists and those who were associated with the Apostles were considered Apostles. Constantius undoubtedly considered Timothy and Luke Apostles, and the Venetians certainly thought that they had the relics of an Apostle when they stole the body of St. Mark from Alexandria and brought it to Venice; see O. Demus, "The Church of San Marco in Venice", Harvard University Dumbarton Oaks Studies 6 (1960): 3-19; P. Geary, Furta Sacra; Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages (Princeton, 1978): 106-115. In his Sermon on Law and Grace Ilarion considered Paul and the Evangelists John and Mark Apostles; see Mueller, Ilarion (1962): 99; Idem, Ilarion (1971): 41; Rozov, "Sinodal'nyj spisok": 163.

[41] PSRL 1: 150, 155, 202, 2: 138, 143, 193. Izjaslav's foundation of the Monastery of St. Demitry is mentioned Ibid. 1: 159, 2: 147; Uspenskij sbornik: 87-88.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The importance of the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Monastery of the Caves as a specifically aristocratic burial spot becomes clearer from the following table which lists everyone whose place of burial is mentioned in the Primary Chronicle up to the year 1125.

Church of the Virgin (Tithe), Kiev

Vladimir, 1015, and Anna, 1011[42]

Jaropolk and Oleg, Vladimir's brothers, translated 1044[43]

Izjaslav, grandson of Vladimir, 1078[44]

Rostislav, grandson of Izjaslav, 1093[45]

St. Sophia, Kiev

Jaroslav "the Wise", 1054, and Irina, 1051[46]

Vsevolod, son of Jaroslav, 1093[47]

Rostislav, son of Vsevolod, 1093[48]

Vladimir Monomax, son of Vsevolod, 1125[49]

---

[42]PSRL 1: 129-130, 2: 114-115. The Primary Chronicle does not say that Anna was buried in the Church of the Tithe but this is confirmed by Thietmar of Merseburg.

[43]Ibid. 1: 155, 2: 143.

[44]Ibid. 1: 202, 2: 193.

[45]Ibid. 1: 225-226, 2: 216.

[46]Ibid. 1: 155, 162, 2: 143, 151. The Primary Chronicle does not say that Irina was buried in St. Sophia. According to a Novgorodian tradition Jaroslav's princess, the mother of his eldest son Vladimir, was buried in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Novgorod; see NPL: 420. For the dating of Irina's death to 1051 rather than 1050 see Poppe, Państwo i kościół: 56.

[47]PSRL 1: 216, 2: 207.

[48]Ibid. 1: 221, 2: 212.

[49]Ibid. 1: 295, 2: 289.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

St. George, Kiev, built by Jaroslav

Sudislav, brother of Jaroslav, imprisoned by him, 1063[50]

St. Peter, in the Monastery of St. Demitry, Kiev, founded by Izjaslav

Jaropolk/Peter, son of Izjaslav, 1086[51]

St. Michael of the Golden Dome, Kiev, founded by Svjatopolk

Svjatopolk, 1113[52]

Roman and David, Vyšgorod

Boris and Gleb, after 1015[53]

Cathedral of the Transfiguration, Černigov, built by Mstislav

Mstislav, son of Vladimir, 1036[54]

Svjatoslav, son of Jaroslav, 1076[55]

Gleb, son of Svjatoslav, 1078[56]

---

[50] Ibid. 1: 163, 2: 152. Sudislav became a monk in 1059 upon his release from prison. It is likely that he was a brother of the monastery in which he was buried.

[51] Ibid. 1: 206, 2: 198. The Hypatian Chronicle mentions the event under the year 1087. Jaropolk had founded the Church of St. Peter in which he was buried.

[52] Ibid. 2: 275.

[53] Boris was buried near the Church of St. Basil soon after his death; Ibid. 1: 134, 2: 121. Gleb, who was murdered near Smolensk, was left unburied. The transferral of his remains to Vyšgorod is described in hagiographic terms in the anonymous Skazanie and in Nestor's Life; see Uspenskij sbornik: 55; Žitija...Borisa i Gleba: 14.

[54] PSRL 1: 150, 2: 138. The Hypatian Chronicle mentions Mstislav's death in 1034.

[55] Ibid. 1: 199, 2: 190.

[56] Ibid. 1: 199-200, 2: 190-191. It is interesting to note that Gleb,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

St. Sophia, Novgorod

Vladimir, son of Jaroslav, 1052[57]

Izjaslav, son of Vladimir Monomax, 1096[58]

Church of the Virgin, Tmutarakan', built by Mstislav

Rostislav, son of Jaroslav's eldest son Vladimir, 1066[59]

Church of the Dormition of the Virgin, Monastery of the Caves

Simon the Varangian, before 1091?[60]

Varlaam, Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves, before 1091[61]

Theodosij, 1074/1091[62]

Maria, the wife of Jan', 1091[63]

Jan', captain of the thousand, 1106[64]

---

who was killed in the North (v Zavoločii) was brought back to Černigov to be buried with his father.

[57] Ibid. 1: 160, 2: 149.

[58] Ibid. 1: 237, 2: 227. Izjaslav was carried from Murom to Novgorod to be buried.

[59] Ibid. 1: 166, 2: 155.

[60] Simon is only mentioned in the Kievan Caves Patericon; see KPP:5.

[61] Varlaam's burial is only mentioned in Nestor's Life of Theodosij; Uspenskij sbornik: 5.

[62] Theodosij died in 1074 but was only translated to the stone Church of the Dormition in 1091; PSRL 1: 211, 2: 203.

[63] Ibid. 1: 212, 2: 203, 204. The Primary Chronicle states that Maria was buried opposite the tomb of Theodosij.

[64] Ibid. 1: 281, 2: 257. The Primary Chronicle says that Jan' was buried in a chapel in the Caves Monastery, which presumably means in the Church of the Dormition.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Evpraksija, daughter of Vsevolod Jaroslavič, 1109[65]

Gleb the son of Vseslav of Polock, 1119[66]

Anastasija, daughter of Jaropolk, wife of Gleb, 1158[67]

In terms of the number of important personnages buried in it the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin appears to have been without equal in the Kievan era. Its importance becomes even clearer if we consider the churches of Kiev as centers of political and religious rituals. Although we find that no church in Kiev became the exclusive center of rituals as did the churches of the Moscow Kremlin several centuries later, the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin was apparently more important than any other. A few examples will serve to illustrate this point.

Although the Church of the Tithe was the capella regia, it was not a true dynastic mausoleum as the Church of the Archangel Michael in the Moscow Kremlin would be. In fact, it was not even the central focus of the dynasty; although Vladimir the baptiser of Rus' was buried there, Boris and Gleb, the symbols of the legitimacy and stability of the dynasty,

---

[65] Ibid. 1: 283, 2: 260. The Primary Chronicle says that she too was buried in the Caves Monastery "u dverii jaže ko ugu i zdelaša nad neju božonku". This probably means that she was buried near the south door of the Church of the Dormition and that a small sanctuary was built over her grave. Cross however translated this passage as though she were buried outside the Church near the South gate of the Monastery in the open air, therefore requiring a chapel; see Cross, Primary Chronicle: 204. Priselkov believed that Evpraksija was buried in the Monastery of the Caves because, as the second wife of Henry IV of Germany, she had become a "Catholic" and therefore could not have been buried in the Cathedral of St. Sophia; see Priselkov, Očerki: 314.

[66] PSRL 2: 285.

[67] Ibid. 2: 492.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were buried in Vyšgorod.[68]

The Cathedral of St. Sophia, on the other hand, was associated with the accession to the throne of Kiev.[69] However it lacked the miracle-working remains of a saint throughout the entire Kievan era. As a result it could not play the central role which the Cathedral of the Dormition in Moscow would play three centuries later because it held the tomb of Metropolitan Petr. Before the Battle of Kulikovo Dmitrij Donskoj prayed to the Virgin and St. Petr in the Cathedral of the Dormition. In the Kievan era similar events usually took place outside the walls of Kiev: We hear of peace being concluded between the princes of Rus' at the tombs of Boris and Gleb and of Theodosij and we know that Svjatopolk the son of Izjaslav prayed at Theodosij's tomb before going into battle. Although the Church of Roman and David (Boris and Gleb) in Vyšgorod was

---

[68]Some scholars believe that Ol'ga was also buried in the Church of the Tithe; see Golubinskij, Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx: 56; Cross, Primary Chronicle: 251, note 115. Indeed, some redactions of the Life of Ol'ga say that Vladimir the baptiser of Rus' translated her remains to the Church of the Tithe and placed them in a marble sarcophagus; see Serebrjanskij, Texts: 8, 11; S. A. Bugoslavskij, "K literaturnoj istorii 'Pamjati i poxvaly' knjazju Vladimiru", IORJaS 29 (1925): 132-134, 146-147. The earliest MSS. which mention this, however, are from the 13-14th centuries. On the other hand neither Thietmar of Merseburg, nor the Life of Vladimir, nor the eulogy to Ol'ga in the Primary Chronicle under the year 969 say anything about the translation of Ol'ga's remains. Even Ilarion does not say much about Ol'ga, which would hardly have been the case if her sarcophagus had stood before him; see Mueller, Ilarion (1962) : 23. I conclude that the story of the translation of Ol'ga's remains is an apocryphal creation of 13th century hagiographers who could not believe that the first Christian ruler of Rus' was not buried in one of the major churches of Kiev.

[69]The evidence of this is scanty but quite unequivocal. The chronicles contain phrases such as the following: "the Kievans said to Izjaslav: 'you are our prince; go to St. Sophia and sit on the throne of your father and of your grandfather"; PSRL 2: 397. For other such

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

probably more important than the Church of the Dormition as a pilgrimage site, no one except Boris and Gleb was buried there.[70]

The importance of the Church of the Dormition in the Monastery of the Caves as a mausoleum and center of rituals was probably due not only to the cult of Theodosij as such but to the influence of the cult of the Virgin and the belief that the Monastery of the Caves, and in particular the Church of the Dormition, was holy ground, and that all who were buried there would be saved. The Kievan Caves Patericon expresses this belief very clearly through statements attributed to Antonij and Theodosij. The epistle of Simon to Polikarp entitled Why One Should Have Zeal and Love for Antonij and Theodosij recounts an event which supposedly occurred in the 1130's or 1140's. Antonij appeared in a vision to the monk Onisifor and said: "I cannot break the promise which I swore to you, that everyone buried here would be forgiven...I prayed to God the Father and the pure Mother of God that not a single one of this monastery should be condemned to torments". In the Tale of the Construction of the Caves Monastery in the Patericon Simon the Varangian asks Theodosij to pray for his descendants, especially for his son Georgij. Theodosij replies: "I will not only pray for these, but for those who love this

---

references see PSRL 1: 306, 2: 327. Unfortunately all of these statements are from the twelfth century. For the problem of coronation in mediaeval Rus' see Poppe, Państwo i Kościół: 230-232; Idem, "Le Prince": 112-114.

[70] In 1101 Svjatopolk captured Jaroslav the son of Jaropolk and put him in irons. The Metropolitan of Kiev and the Abbot of the Caves Monastery induced Svjatopolk to release his hostage at the tombs of Boris and Gleb, where presumably oaths were exchanged; see PSRL 1: 275, 2: 250. For the agreements concluded at the tombs of Boris and Gleb and Theodosij in 1150 see Ibid. 1: 328, 2: 399, 403. Svjatopolk's veneration of Theodosij's remains is described Ibid. 1: 282, 2: 258. For the Cathedral of the Dormition in Moscow see PSRL 6: 91, 8: 35, 84, 24,: 144, 25: 239.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

holy place for my sake".[71]

Although the veneration of Theodosij by members of the aristocracy of Kiev and their desire to be buried near him were probably the most distinctive aspects of his cult it was a third factor, the political symbolism surrounding Theodosij, which directly led to the institution of his feast for the entire Church of Rus'. As a result of his defense of Prince Izjaslav, Theodosij was venerated by Izjaslav's family for three generations, including Izjaslav's sons Jaropolk and Svjatopolk, who wanted to be associated with the symbolism surrounding Theodosij to defend their legitimate right to rule. The events leading up to the institution of Theodosij's feast in the entire Church of Rus' in 1108 should be discussed in detail.

After the death of Svjatoslav in 1076 Izjaslav returned from abroad to rule in Kiev for about two years until he died in 1078. In accordance with the accepted dynastic principle he was succeeded by his youngest brother, the last surviving son of Jaroslav the Wise, Vsevolod. During the fifteen years of Vsevolod's reign, 1078-1093, the sons of Izjaslav waited, wondering if the rules of succession would be followed after Vsevolod's death which would give the throne of Kiev to the eldest of them. In the face of the wars waged by Oleg and David, the sons of Svjatoslav, against their cousins, the strongest legal and moral forces for stability and legitimacy were the cult of Boris and Gleb and the

---

[71]KPP: 4, 104-106.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

memory of Theodosij.[72]

Jaropolk, Izjaslav's eldest son, was Vsevolod's legitimate successor. In order to preserve the memory of the relationship between Theodosij and his father, and to be personally associated with the cult, Jaropolk gave generously to the monastery. Jaropolk died in 1086, before his uncle Vsevolod, and so never gained the throne of Kiev, but his generosity towards the monastery was continued by his wife and by his daughter, Anastasija. Anastasija's husband Gleb, son of Vseslav of Polock, donated money for the building of the refectory completed in 1108, and both were eventually buried in the Church of the Dormition near Theodosij's tomb.[73]

By this time Nestor, a monk of the Monastery of the Caves, had written the Life (čtenie) of Boris and Gleb and the Life of Theodosij which dealt with the problems of legitimacy and responsibility. Apparently disturbed by the wars waged by Svjatoslav's sons during the 1080's, Nestor wrote the Life of Boris and Gleb to emphasize the obligation of the younger princes to obey the older, rightful ruler, thereby changing the original meaning of the cult which attempted to prevent the eldest prince from violently eliminating all contenders for the throne. Nestor pursued this theme in the Life of Theodosij by immortalizing the holy man's support for Izjaslav and his opposition to the usurper Svjatoslav.[74]

After Jaropolk's death in 1086 the right of succession fell to

---

[72]For a brief discussion of the wars waged by the sons of Svjatoslav see G. Vernadsky, Kievan Russia (New Haven, 1972): 87-93.

[73]PSRL 1: 206, 283, 2: 198, 259, 492.

[74]Poppe, "Chronologia utworów": 300-305; Idem, "Le Prince": 115-116.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his brother Svjatopolk, who in fact acceded to the throne of Kiev after Vsevolod's death in 1093. Svjatopolk, a violent and unjust man, had no love for the Monastery of the Caves at the beginning of his reign: He imprisoned Abbot Ioann in Turov, harrassed the monk Proxor, and his son, Mstislav, killed two monks of the monastery in his search for hidden treasure.[75]

Svjatopolk's relations with the Monastery of the Caves changed for the better, perhaps as his political position weakened and became similar to that of his father Izjaslav. Like Izjaslav, Svjatopolk was neither a popular nor an able ruler, and his military weakness became apparent when the Polovcy attacked Kiev and burned the Monastery of the Caves in 1096, reminiscent of Izjaslav's defeat in 1068.[76]

At first Svjatopolk sought to associate himself with the cult of Boris and Gleb, undoubtedly to gain their divine protection and the political support which the symbolism of their cult provided. Following the example of his uncles Svjatoslav and Vsevolod, who had also tried to become patrons of the cult, Svjatopolk wished to build a new church to the brothers but was thwarted by Vladimir Monomax who gilded the sarcophagi of Boris and Gleb in 1100. Nevertheless, Svjatopolk made use of the cult from time to time: When he captured his nephew Jaroslav at

---

[75]For the stories of Ioann, Proxor and Mstislav see KPP: 149-155, 161-171. Svjatopolk instigated or, at the very least, was involved in the blinding of Vasilko in 1097 recounted in PSRL 1: 257-262, 2: 232-236. A miracle appended to the Skazanie of Boris and Gleb states that Svjatopolk unlawfully imprisoned men who were eventually freed through the help of the saints; see Uspenskij sbornik: 66-68, and a discussion of the miracle in L. Mueller, "Studien zur altrussischen Legende der Heiligen Boris und Gleb", Zeitschrift fuer slavische Philologie 23 (1954):60-77.

[76]PSRL 1: 232, 234, 2: 222-224.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Brest after a rebellion he put him in irons and brought him across Rus' to the tomb of Boris and Gleb where he presumably extracted an oath of obedience in the presence of members of the clergy.[77]

Probably to gain additional support from the cult of Theodosij Svjatopolk made peace with the Monastery of the Caves, which was without a protector at this time; although Vladimir Monomax visited the monastery on occasion and was supposedly cured twice through its aid he does not seem to have been particularly devoted to the memory of Theodosij.[78]

Svjatopolk began to visit the monastery frequently to pray at Theodosij's tomb, especially before going into battle. On August 12, 1107, just before the feast of the uncovery of Theodosij's remains and of the Dormition of the Virgin Svjatopolk won a decisive victory over the Polovcy. He attributed his victory to the aid of Theodosij and the Virgin, and returned in haste to Kiev to celebrate the feast of the Dormition in the stone church of this name in the Monastery of the Caves in

---

[77]Svjatoslav began the construction of a stone church to Boris and Gleb but died before it was completed. The structure was finished by his brother Vsevolod, but, according to the Skazanie, it collapsed in the night after it was finished. Subsequently Oleg, the son of Svjatoslav, built a new stone church for Boris and Gleb, which was completed in 1111. Svjatopolk refused to let the remains of the saints be transferred to the new church, since he was jealous that he had not built it; he defended his position by saying "I dare not move them (Boris and Gleb) from place to place". The translation finally took place in 1115 after Svjatopolk's death; see Uspenskij sbornik: 65-71. The capture of Jaroslav at Brest is recounted in PSRL 1: 275, 2: 250.

[78]Monomax's visits to the Monastery of the Caves are mentioned in KPP: 11, 130, 137-138, 154.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which Theodosij was buried.[79]

As a result of Svjatopolk's devotion to Theodosij, which continued the tradition begun by his father and older brother, Abbot Theoktist of the Monastery of the Caves decided that it was an opportune time to seek the institution of Theodosij's cult throughout the Church of Rus'. Until then Theodosij had only been venerated by the monks of the Monastery of the Caves, by certain aristocratic families and of course by the descendants of Izjaslav. The universal veneration of Theodosij would not only have added to the glory of the monastery but would also have helped to prevent the kind of violence which the monastery had suffered at the hands of Svjatopolk himself.

Svjatopolk agreed to establish the feast of Theodosij for the entire Church of Rus'. Imitating the ancient right of the emperors to add and remove names from the diptychs and the synodikon in the Empire, he instructed the metropolitan and the bishops to remember Theodosij by celebrating his feast throughout the realm. The Primary Chronicle recorded the event in the following way:

> In this year (6616) God inspired the heart of Theoktist, Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves, and he proposed to Prince Svjatopolk that Theodosij be inscribed in the synodikon. The Prince rejoiced

---

[79] PSRL 1: 282, 2: 258. According to the Kievan Caves Patericon Svjatopolk came to pray at Theodosij's tomb and at the caves where Antonij and Proxor were buried; see KPP: 155. I believe that the names of Antonij and Proxor were added by Polikarp when he composed the tale of Proxor's miracles. Polikarp was undoubtedly familiar with the entry in the Primary Chronicle which said that Svjatopolk prayed at Theodosij's tomb, and he decided to emphasize Proxor's miraculous victory over Svjatopolk's injustice by saying that Svjatopolk venerated him in addition to Theodosij. Then, not wishing to omit the founder of the Caves Monastery he added Antonij's name. There is no other indication that Antonij or Proxor were venerated.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> and promised that it would be done. He ordered the Metropolitan to include Theodosij's name in the synodikon, and also ordered this to be done in every doicese. All the bishops were pleased to add his name and to remember him with all the saints.[80]

The preceding discussion has attempted to retrace the development of the cult of Theodosij and to highlight those factors which caused him to be venerated throughout the Church of Rus'. The picture presented above conflicts with the interpretation of M. D. Priselkov outlined in Chapter One. Although Priselkov's theory is anachronistic in many ways it should still be reviewed and criticised point by point. Before doing so, however, one last aspect of the cult must be discussed: the office of Theodosij.

The office of Theodosij has only been discussed twice; Golubinskij discussed it briefly in his History of the Russian Church and published the text of the office from a 13-14th century MS. It was analyzed in greater detail by F. G. Spasskij. Spasskij discovered an acrostic in the office which led him to believe that the work was written by Grigorij, a hymnographer of the Monastery of the Caves. He also believed that it was written before 1091 and that an important part of it was borrowed from the office of Theodore of Studion. Unfortunately it appears that all three conclusions are false.[81]

---

[80] PSRL 1: 282, 2: 259. For a discussion of the synodikon and the emperor's rights see Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur: 155-156, 274-275; A. Michel, Die Kaisermacht in der Ostkirche (843-1204) (Darmstadt, 1959): 84-101; Poppe, "Le Prince": 101-104, 106; Idem, "La tentative de reforme ecclésiastique en Russie au milieu du XIe siècle", Acta poloniae historica 25 (1972): 22-23.

[81] Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi I/2: 387-390; F. G. Spasskij, Russkoe liturgičeskoe tvorčestvo po sovremennym minejam (Paris, 1951): 81-85. Golubinskij only mentioned the office in passing and did not attempt to analyze its contents or to date it.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Spasskij deduced the date of composition from a stix which says: "pamjat' tvoja d'n's' nam jako slnce vosija prpbne celujušče raku okrst stojašče tvoju jako bžestvenyj kivot verno v"spevajušče tvoe stoe uspen'e/ today your feast is like the shining sun for us, o blessed one; we stand in a circle around your coffin, kissing it like a divine shrine, praising your holy dormition". He believed that the reference to the sarcophagus (raka) of Theodosij rather than to his relics (mošči) proved that the work was written before 1091.[82]

However the story of the unearthing of Theodosij's remains in 1091, which Spasskij does not appear to have read, states clearly that Theodosij was buried in a cave and that the exact location of his remains within the cave was unknown. As a result the author of the account of 1091 and his companion had to dig throughout most of the night to find Theodosij's body. Under these circumstances the phrase "kissing your coffin around which we stand" could only have been written after Theodosij's remains had been placed above ground in the stone Church of the Dormition of the Virgin, that is after August 14, 1091.[83]

Spasskij's statements about the acrostic and the borrowings from the office of Theodore of Studion are inaccurate, although his textual analysis is correct. Although he had Golubinskij's text at hand, Spasskij apparently felt that the printed liturgical books (minei) were more reliable and used them as the basis for his study. The portion of the

---

[82]Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi I/2: 516.

[83]For the unearthing of Theodosij's remains see PSRL 1: 209-210, 2: 201.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

office of Theodosij which was indeed borrowed from the office of Theodore of Studion, and which contains the acrostic ("penie otče xrigorov/canon of Father Hrihorij") is not found in the text published by Golubinskij nor for that matter in any MS. before the sixteenth century. Consequently it is more probable that the hymnographer Hrihorij lived in the sixteenth century or later and that he decided to round out the existing office to Theodosij without going to the trouble to compose the poem himself.

The oldest portion of the office appears to be the kontakion "zvezdu d'n's' rus'skuju počte ot v"stoka vosijavšjuju i na zapad prišedšju vsju bo stranu siju čudesy i dobrotoju obašč'sju vsja ny sdejan'em blgdti mniš'skago ustava bžstvnago feodos'ja/ today they honor the star of Rus', shining from the East and continuing on to the West, enriching this entire land with miracles and goodness; all things for us by this act of Grace of the monastic rule of the divine Theodosij", found in the middle of the text published by Golubinskij. Not only is it the only portion of the office included in the Uspenskij Kondakar' of 1207, its contents indicate that it was part of the oldest liturgical composition about Theodosij. It emphasizes the two most important aspects of the saint's cult: his miracles and the fact that he instituted the Rule of Theodore of Studion.[84]

The office of Theodosij is not necessarily an original work. However an analysis of the text published by Golubinskij has so far not uncovered traces of borrowing. As for the date of the work, one may suppose that it was composed between 1091 and 1108, that is, when Theodosij's

---

[84]Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi I/2: 514; A. Bugge, Contacarium palaeoslavicum mosquense (Copenhagen, 1960; Monumenta musicae byzantinae 6): 83v-84v.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

remains could be openly venerated and before his feast was instituted throughout the Church of Rus'.[85]

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to the theories of M. D. Priselkov.

As we saw in Chapter One, Priselkov's interpretation of the cult of Theodosij was based on the idea that the veneration of the saints of Rus' was an expression of Slavic nationalism and independence in the face of Byzantine hegemony, and that the "canonization" of Theodosij was delayed until 1108 because of ecclesiastical politics. Let us examine these views in detail.

Priselkov believed that Nikon/Ilarion, who became Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves in 1076, sought the "canonization" of Theodosij but that this was opposed by Metropolitan Ioann, a Greek. Nikon supposedly reacted by refusing to dedicate the stone Church of the Dormition of the Virgin until Theodosij, who had founded it, was canonized.

Priselkov asserted that the clerics of the metropolitan's court composed the Life of Antonij to undermine the veneration of Theodosij. The Life of Antonij supposedly emphasized the debt which the Monastery of the Caves owed the Greek Church in general and Mt. Athos in particular, and attributed several of Theodosij's deeds to Antonij to minimize the former's contribution.

Priselkov concluded by reinterpreting a number of important

---

[85]The approach of F. Keller in "Das Kontakion" was followed, using E. Follieri, Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae (Città del Vaticano, 1960-1966), and the printed offices in Menaia tou holou eniautou (Rome, 1888-1901).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

passages in the Primary Chronicle. He stated that the brothers of the Monastery of the Caves, angered by the fabrications of the Life of Antonij, decided to establish a cult of Theodosij in 1091 when there was no metropolitan in Kiev. Theodosij's body was supposedly unearthed "with great secrecy at night"; when the remains were found whole and uncorrupted a "national ecclesiastical festival was organized". Theodosij was finally canonized in 1108 at the insistence of Prince Svjatopolk and over the objections of Metropolitan Nikifor (Nikephoros).[86]

Priselkov's point of departure is the belief that there were Grecophile and Slavic nationalist factions in Kiev. The traditional proof of this assumption, the attack on Constantinople in 1043, the appointment of Metropolitan Ilarion in 1051 and the canonization of Boris and Gleb, is no longer valid. The illogical nature of the argument is seen in the statement that the canonization of Boris and Gleb was a "triumph of Jaroslav's national policy" of seeking independence and equality against Byzantine hegemony, but that the feast was quickly accepted in the Byzantine Empire. Moreover this view is incompatible with the fact that the earliest hagiographic account of the death of Boris and Gleb was written in Greek and that the first kontakion to them was translated from the Greek canon to St. Prokopios.[87]

---

[86] Priselkov, Očerki: 66-74, 167-169, 218, 227-232, 264-273, 281-282, 289-290, 299-300, 303, 317.

[87] For the debates surrounding the war of 1043 and the appointment of Metropolitan Ilarion see A. Poppe, "La dernière expédition russe contre Constantinople", Byzantinoslavica 32, No. 1 (1971): 1-29, No. 2: 233-268; Idem, "Russko-vizantijskie cerkovno-političeskie otnošenija v seredine XI v.", Istorija SSSR 1970, No. 3: 108-124; Idem, "La tentative de reforme": 5-31. Nevertheless some scholars continue to speak in terms of a "forepost

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Priselkov saw further evidence of these hostile factions in the supposed personal opposition between Antonij and Theodosij. The former was supposedly pro-Byzantine, the latter oriented towards the Church of Rome and the Holy Roman Empire. However this theory is just as unsubstantiated as the opposition of Rus' to Byzantine hegemony. To the best of our knowledge Antonij and Theodosij held different views of monasticism--the former favored the life of the anchorite, the latter the monastic community--but these differences were not the result of pro- or anti-Byzantine feelings. Both monks had close ties to Byzantine monasticism: Antonij was tonsured on Mt. Athos (not in Bulgaria as Priselkov stated) and Theodosij, not Antonij, instituted the Rule of Theodore of Studion and thereby became known in later centuries as the "founder of coenobitic life in Rus'/*načal'nik obščego žitija na Rusi*".

Nor can we claim to find traces of personal opposition between Antonij and Theodosij in the conflicting statements about the early years of the Monastery of the Caves. The story *Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named* in the *Primary Chronicle* does contradict several details of Nestor's *Life* but, as we saw in Chapter One, these contradictions are not significant enough to be considered reflections of two traditions with political overtones.

Priselkov's supposed proof of Theodosij's Roman sympathies is the fact that the holy man supported Prince Izjaslav, who had a Polish wife

---

of Greek ecclesiastical influence in Rus'"; see A. G. Kuz'min, "Letopisnye istočniki poslanij Simona i Polikarpa; k voprosu o 'Letopisce starom Rostovskom'", *AE za 1968*, especially pp. 85-86; B. Widera , "Jaroslavs des Weisen Kampf": 158-175. For Boris and Gleb see footnote 12 above.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and who spent four years in exile in Western Europe 1073-1076. However as we have seen Theodosij's support of Izjaslav was personal and dynastic in nature rather than political. Moreover the idea that the schism of 1054 produced a complete break and open hostility between the Greek and Roman churches, with Grecophiles and Westernizers in Kiev, is no longer acceptable.[88]

A significant part of Priselkov's interpretation was of course based on the theory of the lost Life of Antonij which supposedly undermined the veneration of Theodosij by minimizing his historical contribution. However as Chapter One demonstrated there is no proof that an independent biographical work about Antonij existed at any time, nor is there proof of a second tradition which attributed to Antonij the leading role in the Monastery of the Caves.

Lastly, Priselkov believed that the "canonization" of Theodosij was delayed because of the opposition of the Greek clergy to the cult of another saint of Rus'. Priselkov drew his evidence from the entries of 1089, 1091 and 1108 in the Primary Chronicle. If we examine these entries in detail we see that Priselkov's analysis was extremely subjective.

The first entry concerns the consecration of the stone Church of the

---

[88]For Theodosij's epithet see, for example, the rule copied in 1428, Appendix 1, No. 108. For a discussion of the schism of 1054 see B. Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIeme siècle (Paris, 1924): 27-50; P. Sokolov, Russkij arxierej iz Vizantii i pravo ego naznačenija do načala XV veka (Kiev, 1913): 42-50; P. Lemerle, "L'Orthodoxie byzantine et l'oecuménisme médiéval: les orgnies du 'schisme' des Églises", Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé, ser. 4, 1965, No. 2: 240-242. The work known as the Sermon on the Catholics was frequently used as an indication of Theodosij's political views, but it is now known that the work was written by a Greek named Theodosios who was Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves about 1150; see K. Viskovatyj, "K voprosu ob avtore i vremeni napisanija 'Slova k Izjaslavu o Latinex'", Slavia 16 (1938-1939): 535-567.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dormition of the Virgin founded by Theodosij in 1073. The Primary Chronicle states: "6597 (1089) the Church of the holy Mother of God of Theodosij's Monastery of the Caves was consecrated by Metropolitan Ioann and Bishops Luka of Belgorod, Isaija of Černigov, in the reign of the noble Prince Vsevolod ruling the land and Rus' with his sons Vladimir and Rostislav, when Jan' the captain of the thousand of Kiev held the voevodstvo and Ioann was Abbot".[89]

Priselkov believed that the church founded in 1073 was completed in 1075, and that the span of almost fifteen years between the completion of the masonry and the consecration in 1089 was unduly long. He could not believe that the decoration of the church continued for so many years or that it was delayed for lack of funds. He concluded therefore that the delay was the result of ecclesiastical politics surrounding the veneration of Theodosij, in particular the refusal of Abbot Nikon/Ilarion to consecrate the church founded by Theodosij until the latter was canonized. The two issues were supposedly only separated after Nikon's death in 1088, which led to the consecration the following year.[90]

However a careful reading of the sources proves that the stone church was begun in 1073, finished in 1076 and consecrated very shortly

---

[89]PSRL 1: 207-208, 2: 199.

[90]Priselkov, Očerki: 227-232. Priselkov noted that when Abbot Stefan, Theodosij's successor, was driven by the monks from the Monastery of the Caves he was given money by several bojars of Kiev with which he founded his own monastery at Klov dedicated to the Virgin of the Blachernae; see Uspenskij sbornik: 133-134. Priselkov asserted that the bojars would have been just as generous in financing the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin. The Life of Theodosij states, however, that Stefan received money "for the needs of his body and for other needs", and there is proof that his monastery consisted of anything more than a few log cabins.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

thereafter. To be sure, there is no direct reference to the consecration, but Nestor's Life of Theodosij states very clearly that the church was used under Abbot Stefan, that is as early as 1076, and again in the 1080's.

The first consecration was therefore a "small" consecration, due to the fact that the church was not yet decorated. The decoration apparently took place during the abbacy of Nikon in the 1080's as the story about the arrival of artists from Constantinople in the Kievan Caves Patericon relates. Although many of the details in the story may be fantasy, the reference to Nikon is probably reliable. We may conclude that, contrary to Priselkov's view, the decoration did continue into the 1080's; whether for lack of funds, materials or artists is unknown.[91]

The consecration mentioned in the Primary Chronicle in 1089 was the second or "large" consecration which followed the final completion of the church. This double consecration was not unusual: The Church of the Tithe was consecrated in 996 when it was completed and again in 1039, while the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev was consecrated in the 1040's

---

[91]For the foundation and completion of the church see PSRL 1: 183, 198, 2: 173, 189. The entry in the Primary Chronicle states: 6583 (1075) "The church of the Monastery of the Caves was begun on the foundation by Abbot Stefan, for Theodosij laid the foundation and Abbot Stefan began (to build) on the foundation, and it was finished in the third year on July 11". Many scholars interpret this statement to mean the third year from 1075, that is, 1077; see, for example, Karger, Drevnij Kiev, (M.-L. 1958-1961), 2: 337-347; M. V. Xolostenko, "Uspens'kij sobor Pečers'kogo Monastirja", in ANURSR, Institut arxeologij, Starodavnij Kiiv (Kiev, 1975): 141-148. A. Poppe convincingly demonstrates that the entry means the third year of the abbacy of Stefan, that is, July 11, 1076; see his forthcoming article to appear in the Journal of Medieval History. For the use of the church before 1089 see Uspenskij sbornik: 95, 125, 133. The tale of the artists who came from Constantinople is found in the KPP: 9-12.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and again after 1051 by Metropolitan Efrem. Consequently the theory that Abbot Nikon refused to allow the Church of the Dormition to be consecrated until Theodosij was canonized is groundless.[92]

Priselkov also attached great significance to the story of the unearthing of Theodosij's remains found in the Primary Chronicle under the year 1091. The account states that the event took place at night, and at a time when the see of Kiev was vacant, supposedly proof that it was a secret, political act directed against the Greek clergy which opposed the veneration of Theodosij.

There was in fact an aura of secrecy about the event: The unearthing took place at night and Abbot Ioann told the author of the story, who unearthed Theodosij's remains, not to tell any of the brethren. However the only secret was the exact hour of the unearthing; the Primary Chronicle states very clearly that "the abbot and the monks conferred and said: 'It is not right for our father Theodosij to be buried outside the monastery and the church, since he founded it'. The monks gathered together, conferred, and ordered that a place be made where they could place his remains". In the same story we learn that Metropolitan Efrem of Perejaslavl', Bishops Stefan of Vladimir, Ioann of Černigov and Marin of Jur'ev were in Kiev for the event and that Bishop Stefan "had been informed earlier". Everyone would have known that the unearthing of Theodosij's remains would take place in connection with the second anniversary

---

[92]The Church of the Tithe was first consecrated in 996 when it was completed and again in 1039 for an unknown reason, PSRL 1: 124, 153, 2: 108-109, 141. For the two consecrations of the Cathedral of St. Sophia see Poppe, "Russkie mitropolii" 28 (1968): 92-96.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the consecration of the church and the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin.[93]

Even the absence of the Metropolitan of Kiev is not as significant as Priselkov thought: his presence was simply not required at the unearthing of 1091. The Monastery of the Caves was in effect auteksousios, under the protection of the Prince of Kiev and not subordinated to the Metropolitan. Moreover canon law did not require the consent of the bishop of the diocese since the relics were not being alienated from the monastery which possessed them.[94]

We should also remember that the unearthing of 1091, although of tremendous importance for the cult of Theodosij, was not an event of the same order as the translation of the remains of Boris and Gleb in 1072. Neither Prince Vsevolod of Kiev nor any other prince attended. Three of the Bishops--Metropolitan Efrem, Bishops Stefan of Vladimir in Volyn' and Marin of Jur'ev--were former monks of the Monastery of the Caves, and

---

[93] PSRL 1: 209-211, 2: 200-202.

[94] For the status of the Monastery of the Caves see the article by A. Poppe in SSS 3: 413-415; Idem, :Le Prince": 101-106. Eugene Dooley, Church Law on Sacred Relics (Washington, D.C., 1931): 22-25, 62-67, notes that in the eleventh century there was no explicit canon law on the translation of relics. He beieves that this rite would have been covered by the laws of Justinian's Digest and the decisions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 787. Liber XI, titula viii of the Corpus Iuris Civilis, Digesta, guarantees the right to bury a body and erect a sepulchral monument or tomb without hindrance or the need for permission if the person burying has a right to the land. The twelfth canon of the Second Council of Nicaea forbids abbots and bishops to alienate any of the property of their monasteries or dioceses. Translations of these laws are found in: The Digest of Justinian, translated by C. H. Monro, (Cambridge, 1909) 2: 259-260; G. Dumeige, S. J. Nicée II (Paris, 1978; Histoire des Conciles Oecuméniques, vol. 4): 146, 247-248.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bishop Ioann of Černigov may have been.[95]

Finally there is the chronicle entry of 1108 which describes the institution of Theodosij's feast and which was quoted in full above. According to Priselkov the entry proves that Svjatopolk made use of the "customs of Mt. Athos/afonskij parjadok" to force an unwilling Greek metropolitan to accept the cult of Theodosij. By "customs of Athos" Priselkov meant the fact that the monasteries of the Holy Mount were subject to God alone and protected by the emperor.

The Monastery of the Caves did enjoy a status vis-à-vis the metropolitans of Kiev quite similar to that of the auteksousios monasteries of the Empire, not just those of Mt. Athos. However Svjatopolk's active role in the events of 1108 was not the result of his status as protector of the Monastery of the Caves, but based on the emperor's ancient right to control the inclusion of names in the diptychs and the synodikon for the entire empire. Svjatopolk's decision to have Theodosij's name added to the synodikon as one of the leading figures of the Church of Rus' was well within his rights and completely conformed to Byzantine practices. The wording of the account contains no hint that Metropolitan Nikifor (Nikephoros) opposed the act.[96]

Summing up, we have seen that there is no evidence for Priselkov's theory that the cult of Theodosij was an expression of anti-Byzantine sentiment; that his veneration was opposed by the Greek clergy of Kiev; or

---

[95]PSRL 1: 187, 2: 177; Uspenskij sbornik: 86, 128, 133-134; KPP: 103.

[96]Priselkov, Očerki: 305-308. For a discussion of the synodikon and the emperor's rights see Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur: 155-156, 274-275; Michel, Die Kaisermacht: 84-101; Poppe, "La tentative de réforme": 22-23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that the institution of his feast was a matter of ecclesiastical politics which involved the lost Life of Antonij, the consecration of the Church of the Dormition and the hypothetical secret uncovery of the saint's remains.

The veneration of Theodosij began shortly after his death in 1074; by 1091 miracles had occurred and a biography had been written. The unearthing of Theodosij's remains in 1091 marked the culmination of his veneration within the monastery walls and the beginning of a wider cult. The stone Church of the Dormition of the Virgin became a mausoleum for certain members of the aristocracy who wished to be buried near Theodosij, whom they venerated, for the salvation of their souls. The office of Theodosij was probably composed between 1091 and 1108. In the latter year the feast of Theodosij, May 3, was established for the entire Church of Rus' by Svjatopolk II to gain the divine protection of the saint and to make use of the symbolism of legitimacy which surrounded his cult.

After its institution in 1108 Theodosij's feast day, May 3, became an important event in a cylce of ecclesiastical holidays in the month of May. The basis of the cycle was formed by the Byzantine festivals of St. Irene on May 5; John the Evangelist, May 8; the foundation of Constantinople, May 11; Constantine and Helen, May 21, plus the translation of the remains of Boris and Gleb in 1072, May 20. To these were added Theodosij, May 3; the translation of the relics of Nicholas of Myra to Bari, May 9; and the translation of the remains of Boris and Gleb in the reign of Vladimir Monomax, May 2, 1115.

The institution of the feast of May 20, the translation of the remains of Boris and Gleb in 1072 and of Theodosij, May 3, have already been discussed sufficiently. The next feast to be added to the calendar

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was probably the translation of the relics of Nicholas of Myra on May 9. St. Nicholas, who was Bishop of Myra in Asia Minor in the fourth century, was widely venerated in the Byzantine Empire and the West as the patron saint of sailors and orphans. In 1087 sailors from the Italian port of Bari sailed to Myra, stole the relics of St. Nicholas, and brought them back to their native city.[97]

An annual feast commemorating the theft of the relics of St. Nicholas was established in the Roman Church on May 9. This holiday was instituted in Rus' during the reign of Vladimir Monomax in Kiev, 1113-1125. The Old Russian account of the theft was written during Vladimir's reign; Vladimir's son Mstislav built a church to St. Nicholas in Novgorod in 1113 and the feast of May 9 is found in the Jur'evskoe Gospel copied between 1119 and 1128.[98]

The exact circumstances surrounding the institution of the feast of May 9 in Rus' are not clear. We know that St. Nicholas was venerated in Rus' long before the theft of 1087. Consequently the institution of

---

[97]For background on the cult of St. Nicholas and the theft of 1087 see G. Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos; der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913-1917) 2: 441-477; K. Meisen, Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch im Abendlande (Dusseldorf, 1931): 50-118; Geary, Furta Sacra: 115-127; Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance: 51-74. The Greek and Latin accounts of the theft were published by Anrich, 1: 435-449, 2: 170-173, and F. Nitti, "La translazione delle reliquie di San Nicola" Iapigia 8 (1937): 336-366.

[98]A. Poppe, "Opowieść o męczęnstwie i cudach Borysa i Gleba", Slavia orientalis 1969, No. 3: 289-291. The Old Russian version was published by I. A. Šljapkin, Russkoe poučenie XI veka o perenesenii mošči Nikolaja Čudotvorca i ego otnošenie k zapadnym istočnikam (SPb., 1881; PDPI 19). The author begins his tale by stating that the theft occurred "in the time...of the princes of Rus', the Christ-loving Prince Vsevolod in Kiev and his noble son Vladimir in Černigov", indicating that the story was composed during the reign of the latter, 1113-1125. For the Church of St. Nicholas in Novgorod see PSRL 2: 277 and NPL: 20. For the earliest extant East Slavic liturgical books with the feast of May 9 see Appendix 1, Nos. 3 and 4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the new feast of St. Nicholas may have been merely a result of the widespread devotion to the saint. However we should recall that the cult of St. Nicholas was also connected with the cult of Boris and Gleb: One miracle of St. Nicholas involved Boris and Gleb, and one miracle of the princes involved St. Nicholas. Moreover we know that Vladimir Monomax was particularly devoted to the slain princes, and added another festival in their honor to the May cycle of Feasts, the feast of May 2.[99]

The festival of May 2 was established in memory of the translation of the remains of Boris and Gleb to a new church in 1115. The event marked the end of a long history of attempts to patronize the cult of the brothers.

As we saw earlier, Izjaslav organized the transfer of the remains of Boris and Gleb to a new church in 1072. Svjatoslav, after he had driven his brother Izjaslav from the throne of Kiev, commissioned a new stone church to which he hoped to move the tombs of Boris and Gleb. However the structure was still unfinished when he died in 1076. Work on the church continued during Vsevolod's reign, 1078-1093, but it collapsed just after it was completed.

Svjatopolk Izjaslavič, having succeeded Vsevolod, tried to patronize the cult by building a new church over the tombs of the brothers; he

---

[99] Uspenskij sbornik: 64-65; Žitija...Borisa i Gleba: 23-25; Leonid, Posmertnye čudesa: 43-46. These are not the only indications of a cult of St. Nicholas in Rus' before 1087. Svjatoslav, the third son of Jaroslav the Wise, who was born in 1027, was given the baptismal name Nicholas; a nunnery dedicated to St. Nicholas existed in Kiev in the 1050's, and a church dedicated to the saint was built on the spot believed to be Askold's grave sometime during the eleventh century: see PSRL 1: 23, 149, 2: 17, 137; Uspenskij sbornik: 83; V. L. Janin, Aktovye pečati drevnej Rusi (M., 1970) 1: 34-35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

undoubtedly felt that the collapse of Vsevolod's church was a sign that the brothers did not wish to be moved. However Svjatopolk was upstaged by Vladimir Monomax, who gilded the tombs of Boris and Gleb in secret, at night.

A new stone church was commissioned by Svjatoslav's son Oleg and finished in 1111, but Svjatopolk, out of jealousy forbade the removal of the tombs of Boris and Gleb from his father's church. The translation finally took place in 1115 after Svjatopolk had died and Vladimir Monomax had obtained the throne of Kiev. Even then there was rivalry between Monomax and his cousins: The former wanted to place the relics in the middle of the church under a silver baldachin (terem) which he had built, while Oleg and David wanted the tombs placed in their chapel (komara). The final resting place of these sacred remains was determined by casting lots to ascertain the will of God.[100]

By the second quarter of the twelfth century the May cycle of feasts included Boris and Gleb, May 2 and 20, Theodosij, May 3, Nicholas of Myra, May 9, and the Byzantine holy days mentioned above. There is no clear indication why the May cycle was so popular: Perhaps this was due to the original popularity of the Byzantine festivals, or because the cycle formed a natural period of celebration between Lent and St. Peter's fast which lasted from Pentecost to the feast of SS. Peter and Paul on June 29. In addition to this the holy days of the month of May may also have been the time of an annual gathering of princes and bishops similar

---

[100]PSRL 1: 290, 2: 280-282; Uspenskij sbornik: 69-71.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to the campus Martii of the Carolingians.[101]

Theodosij continued to be venerated during the twelfth century: The miracle of Vasilij, the bojar of Georgij Simonovič, occurred in 1130, and the Hypatian Chronicle records the devotion of Anastasija, Izjaslav's granddaughter, upon her death in 1158. The latter incident is the last reference which we have to the remains of Theodosij until the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which leads most scholars to conclude that Theodosij's sarcophagus was destroyed by the Mongols during the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, as the next chapter will attempt to demonstrate, the cult of Theodosij appears to have lost some of its former significance long before this catastrophe occurred.[102]

---

[101] Boris Unbegaun briefly discussed the cycles of feasts and fasts in mediaeval Rus' in "Remarques sur l'ancien calendrier russe", Mélanges Georges Smets (Brussels, 1952): 641-647. For a table of the dates of Easter from the ninth to early twelfth centuries see Saxmatov, Povest' vremennyx let 1: 400-402.

[102] Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi I/2: 390, assumed that the remains of Boris and Gleb and Theodosij were lost during the Mongol destruction of Kiev. D. V. Ajnalov discussed the matter again in his article "Sud'ba kievskogo xudozestvennogo nasledija", Russkoe arxeologičeskoe obščestvo, Otdelenie russkoj i slavjanskoj arxeologii, Zapiski 12 (1918): 22-39, but his attempt was neither thorough nor conclusive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Three

The Cults of Theodosij and Antonij, 1150-1470

The history of the veneration of Theodosij and Antonij during the course of the twelfth through mid-fifteenth centuries provides us with valuable insights into the spiritual and religious life of Rus' during this period, and into the importance and meaning of the Kievan heritage in the Northeast.

The development of both cults must be considered in conjunction with the cults of the other saints of Kiev--primarily Boris and Gleb and Nicholas of Myra--as well as with those cults which appeared during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is against this background that we must try to answer the following questions about the veneration of Theodosij: Was Theodosij venerated more during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries than in the period which followed? Where was Theodosij venerated and by whom? What form did this veneration take, and did it differ from the veneration of other saints of Rus'? What meaning did the cult of Theodosij have outside of Kiev, especially in the Northeast?

Antonij presents us with a different problem. As shown in Chapter Two, the founder of the Monastery of the Caves was not venerated during the Kievan era. However his cult suddenly appeared about the year 1400,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

first in Tver', then in Moscow and finally in Novgorod. We must try to explain why this cult arose when and where it did, or, in other words, why Antonij apparently inspired more devotion in 1400 than he did shortly after his death. We should begin by discussing the development of the cult of Theodosij after his inclusion in the synodikon in 1108.

If we look at the manuscripts listed in Appendix One we see that the Kievan saints--Boris and Gleb, Theodosij and by extension Nicholas of Myra--were regularly included in East Slavic liturgical calendars from the twelfth century, proving that the Kievan heritage of saints was transmitted to all the dioceses of Rus' and that the saints were venerated throughout the land. In other words one may justifiably say that the feasts of the Kievan saints became an integral part of the Byzantine heritage, and formed a universal foundation of the liturgy in Rus'.

Having said this, however, one must add that the Kievan saints were apparently not of equal significance in the post-Kievan period: Theodosij was venerated somewhat less fervently and somewhat less widely than Boris and Gleb and Nicholas of Myra. The body of evidence which leads us to this conclusion is small but extremely interesting. First there is the evidence of the liturgical books listed in Appendix One. The names of Boris and Gleb appear in virtually every East Slavic liturgical book from the twelfth century on. Princes of Rus' continued to bear the names Boris, Gleb, Roman and David and to dedicate churches to the brothers in many towns: Novgorod, Černigov, Smjadyn' (Smolensk), on the Al'ta River, Kidekša near Suzdal', Rostov, Rjazan' and Murom. Boris and Gleb continued to work miracles and appear in visions, although not as frequently as in the eleventh century, and to be considered symbols of the evil

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

effects of civil war and discord among the princes of Rus', as is seen in the Sermon on the Princes (Slovo o knjazjax) written about 1175.[1]

In addition to this Boris and Gleb were depicted on numerous icons, encolpion crosses, and bronze icons. Andrej Bogoljubskij supposedly possessed Boris' sword. Finally, there is a tale of the translation of the brothers' remains to Smjadyn'. The story is probably an apocryphal attempt by the churchmen of Smolensk to claim, after the destruction of Kiev by the Mongols, that this miracle-working treasure was to be found in their diocese.[2]

---

[1] The churches are mentioned in PSRL 1: 349, 412, 438, 442, 457, 2: 285, 493, 9: 220, 10: 217; NPL: 27, 32, 35. The Slovo o knjazjax, which has never been properly studied, was published by X. Loparev, Slovo poxval'noe na perenesenie moščej svv. Borisa i Gleba; neizdannyj pamjatnik literatury XII veka (Spb., 1894; PDPI No. 98). For additional miracles of Boris and Gleb see NPL: 35; PSRL 1: 479, 10: 121, 127. The feasts of the brothers are also frequently mentioned in the chronicles to record the date of various historical events; see for example PSRL 1: 222, 230, 2: 213, 220, 679-680, etc.

[2] Boris' sword is mentioned in the tale of the murder of Andrej Bogoljubskij, PSRL 1: 369. The synaxary account of the translation of the tombs of Boris and Gleb to Smjadyn' in 1191 was printed by N. K. Nikol'skij, "Materialy dlja istorii drevnerusskoj duxovnoj pis'mennosti": 114-115. I. I. Orlovskij, "Borisoglebskij monastyr' v Smolenske na Smjadyne i raskopki ego razvalin", Smolenskaja starina 1, No. 1 (1909): 256-287, analyzed the account and concluded that only the original wooden coffins of the saints were transferred, and that the relics remained in Vyšgorod until they were destroyed by the Polovcy in 1202--not by the Mongols. Orlovskij's conclusion is logical and convincing if one assumes that the story of the translation is authentic and that some sort of transfer actually occurred. Indeed, he may actually be right. However he does not consider the possibility that the story was written somewhat later to authenticate a claim to possessing the remains of Boris and Gleb after they had been destroyed or disappeared from Vyšgorod. For art works depicting Boris and Gleb see P. L. Gusev, "Novgorodskaja ikona svv. Borisa i Gleba v dejanijax", Vestnik arxeologii i istorii 10 (1898): 86-108; Lesjučevskij, "Vyšgorodskij kul't"; Poppe, "O roli ikonografičeskix izobraženii"; Aleškovskij, "Russkie gleboborisovskie enkolpiony".

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nicholas of Myra also continued to be actively venerated throughout the mediaeval period as though he were an indigenous saint of Rus'; his cult appears to have been most popular in Novgorod. Churches were dedicated to him, miracles worked by him were recorded as early as the eleventh century and as late as 1400, and he was depicted in numerous works of art. The feast of the translation of St. Nicholas' remains, May 9, is found in almost all the liturgical books, and the story of the translation was frequently recopied and edited.[3]

The cult of Theodosij presents us with a somewhat different picture. Theodosij's remains worked no miracles after 1130 and are not mentioned at all after the death of Izjaslav's granddaughter Anastasija in 1158. Theodosij's feast, May 3, is not included in the liturgical books as universally as the feasts of Boris and Gleb. No churches were dedicated to Theodosij until 1394 and, with the possible exception of the Virgin of Svensk mentioned in Chapter One, the saint was not depicted in works of art.[4]

There are of course natural differences between the cults of Boris and Gleb and Theodosij: we would not, for example, expect to find princes

---

[3]For the churches dedicated to St. Nicholas see PSRL 1: 23, 2: 17; Uspenskij sbornik: 83; NPL: 20, 23, 31-32, 39, 94, 273, 393, 411 etc. The miracles worked by Nicholas in Rus' are recounted in Leonid, Posmertnye čudesa: 43-54; VMČ: 686-696; N. K. Nikol'skij, "Materialy dlja istorii drevnerusskoj duxovnoj pis'mennosti": 145-146. Nikol'skij also published a list of the East Slavic MSS. which contain the life, translation or miracles of Nicholas; see Materialy dlja povremennogo spiska: 302-395. For Russian icons of St. Nicholas see, for example T. T. Rice, Russian Icons (New York, 1963): 28, 33, 35, 36 and plates 8, 24, 29, 33; O. Wulff and M. Alpatov, Denkmaeler der Ikonenmalerei (Dresden, 1925): 89, 154, 173.

[4]For liturgical books without Theodosij see Appendix One, especially Nos. 3, 5, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

named Theodosij regardless of their degree of devotion to the saint: even the name Nicholas was not acceptable to the Russian aristocracy until the nineteenth century. However we would expect Theodosij to have been particularly venerated in the monasteries of Rus', since, in the words of the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named "Theodosij gave his monastery (the rule) and from his monastery all other monasteries accepted the rule. For this the Monastery of the Caves is revered, because it is older than all the others and greater in honor". Nevertheless it is exactly this aspect which shows the limitations of his cult.

The only example of Theodosij's direct influence on another monk of Rus' outside the Monastery of the Caves is St. Avraamij of Smolensk, a monk of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. This influence was modest indeed: according to the saint's biographer Efrem, Avraamij read Nestor's Life of Theodosij. Moreover Efrem borrowed passages from Nestor's work to write the Life of Avraamij.[5]

More suprising is the fact that very few bishops and abbots bore the name Theodosij. Before the fourteenth century the sources record only one prelate named Theodosij other than the saint: he was Greek, Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves from 1142 until 1156 and probably the author of the Sermon on the Catholics (Slovo o Latynjax) formerly attributed to Theodosij Pečerskij. From the year 1300 until 1500 only ten bishops and abbots chose to take the name of Theodosios the Coenobiarch

---

[5]S.P. Rozanov, ed. Žitie Avraamija smolenskogo i služby emu (SPb., 1912; reprinted with an introduction by D. Čiževskij, Munich, 1970): 4, 16, 36, 46, 54, 67.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Theodosij of the Monastery of the Caves.[6]

There are a number of reasons why Theodosij was not as fervently venerated as Boris and Gleb. As we saw in Chapter Two, Theodosij was neither considered a great miracle worker nor did he possess the clear symbolic significance which surrounded Boris and Gleb. Theodosij had originally been venerated by those who had known him, primarily Izjaslav and his descendants and certain aristocratic families of Kiev, and as these people died the group of people who were fervently devoted to Theodosij was gradually reduced to the monks of the Monastery of the Caves.

Even the fact that Theodosij was the founder of the koinobion in Rus' was not enough to insure his veneration in the monasteries outside of Kiev. During the twelfth century the Rule of Theodore of Studion ceased to be strictly observed by the monks of the Monastery of the Caves and it was never widely accepted by other monasteries, despite the words of the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named. The koinobion was only instituted in the Suzdal' region in 1352, and in the region of Vologda in 1371. Most of the monasteries of the diocese of Novgorod were idiorhythmic--that is, the monks lived alone according to each's wish and only congregated for the liturgy--as late as 1528.[7]

---

[6] P. M. Stroev, Spiski ierarxov i nastojatelej monastyrej rossijskoj cerkvi (SPb., 1877): 5, 12, 35, 45, 142, 162, 496, 742, 816, 1043, 1045.

[7] The Kievan Caves Patericon includes the tales of the monks Erazm and Arefa who hoarded their personal wealth although they were monks of the Monastery, and of Mark Pešternik who required payment for digging crypts; see KPP: 119-122, 155-161 and Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi I part 2: 628-633. For the establishment of the koinobion in the North see Makarij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi, 2nd ed. (SPb., 1886) 4: 165-231.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The delay in establishing the koinobion in the North and Northeast was due less to the backwardness of these regions than to the religious climate which prevailed when most of the monasteries there were founded. The predominant religious trend of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was a rebirth of asceticism and anchorite monasticism, the desire of monks to leave existing cloisters to live as hermits in the thick forests. Although many of these monks were not opposed in principle to the coenobitic life and eventually instituted some sort of rule when other monks gathered around their skete, they were hardly devoted to Theodosij and his monastic ideal.

The most famous representative of this trend was Sergij of Radonež who, through his many disciples, became the central figure of Russian monasticism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However the life of Sergij is so well known that it may be more instructive to illustrate this religious climate with the biographies of two other monks.[8]

One of the most interesting was Dionisij, who was appointed Bishop of Suzdal' by Metropolitan Aleksej in 1374 and who became Metropolitan of Rus' in 1383. Dionisij probably began his monastic career as a monk in the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. However he left Kiev for the Northeast and began to live as a hermit in a cave in the vicinity of Nižnij Novgorod. His skete attracted other monks, including Pavel

---

[8]Smolitsch, Russisches Moenchtum: 79-100; G. P. Fedotov, The Russian Religious Mind (Cambridge, MA, 1946-1966) 2: 195-198, 246-254; E. E. Golubinskij, Prep. Sergij Radonežskij i sozdannaja im Troickaja lavra, ČOIDR 1909, kniga 2: 1-94.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vysokij, and it became known as the Monastery of the Caves. In short, Dionisij repeated the history of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev by following in the footsteps of Antonij. Although Dionisij was not totally opposed to the koinobion--he even wrote a simple rule for the monks of the Snetogorsk Monastery near Pskov--none of his actions suggest that he particularly venerated Theodosij.[9]

Another such monk was Grigorij Pel'šemskij, who came from Galič in the Northeast. Grigorij was tonsured by Makarij Želtovodskij but did not remain with him. He became Abbot of the Monastery of the Virgin's Birth near Lake Kuben, and in 1394 Archimandrite of a monastery near Rostov. Nevertheless his desire to live as a hermit was so great that he gave up all his duties and set out for the forests around Vologda where he lived largely alone for some forty years.[10]

Even in those monasteries which were coenobitic, loyalties to the founders of the monasteries usually outweighed Theodosij's fame as the first to establish the Rule of Theodore of Studion. The monks of the Novgorod region, for example, looked to Varlaam Xutynskij and Antonij Rimljanin as the founders of monasticism in the Northwest; the Novgorod First Chronicle omitted the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named which recorded Theodosij's contribution and that institution's claim to being first among the monasteries of Rus'. The Rostov-Suzdal' region on the other hand claimed that its ecclesiastical roots led

---

[9]PSRL 11: 20, 33, 37, 38, 42, 44, 70, 71, 83, 85, 86. Dionisij's rule is printed in AI 1: 7-8.

[10]VMČ, September: 2269-2281.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

directly to Constantinople, bypassing Kiev, and thereby ignoring the latter's contribution in another fashion.[11]

Having discussed various types of evidence of the cults of Theodosij, Boris and Gleb and Nicholas of Myra it is appropriate to examine one additional work: the Eulogy (poxvala) of Theodosij. The Eulogy is a typical example of the poxvala genre, consisting of a good deal of rhetoric, a number of Biblical quotations, passages borrowed from the office to Theodosij and short references to the Life of Theodosij, the account of the unearthing of Theodosij's remains in 1091 in the Primary Chronicle, and the Kievan Caves Patericon.[12]

As such, the Eulogy adds very little to the picture of the cult of Theodosij presented above: a eulogy can be written at any time during the saint's cult, and is not a particularly strong indication that the saint was venerated by anyone other than the author. However the Eulogy of Theodosij deserves some attention because some scholars view it as proof that the saint's tomb was not destroyed by the Mongols in 1240. They note that the author of the Eulogy talks in great detail about the tomb (raka) of Theodosij "before our eyes", but also includes a lament about the destruction of churches, monasteries, towns and villages by an

---

[11] N. N. Voronin discussed the claims of the Rostov-Suzdal' region in his articles "Političeskaja legenda v Kievo-Pečerskom paterike", TODRL 11 (1955): 96-102 and "'Žitie Leontija rostovskogo' i vizantijsko-russkie otnošenija vtoroj poloviny XII v.", VV 23 (1963): 29-32. The attitude of the monks of Novgorod towards Theodosij is also seen in the frequent absence of the saint from liturgical books copied in the diocese; see Appendix 1, Nos. 39, 40, 43, 48, 52, 55, 56, 57, 60, 62, 121.

[12] KPP: 86-94; Leonid, "Dva pamjatnika drevne-russkoj Kievskoj pis'mennosti" ČOIDR 1890, kniga 2: 1-25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"unknown tongue". Archimandrite Leonid even attributed the work to Serapion, Abbot of the Monastery of the Caves and Bishop of Vladimir from 1274 until his death in 1275.[13]

Leonid's attribution of the Eulogy to Serapion is extremely hasty and cannot be accepted without a thorough study of the latter's works. Moreover the entire attempt to date the work to the period after 1240 rests on the assumption that any reference to destruction by pagans is a reference to the Mongol invasion of 1237-1240.

The passage about Theodosij's tomb provides us with a terminus ante quem non of 1091. On the other hand the reference to Theodosij's miracles is so vivid that the work must have been written during the zenith of Theodosij's cult, that is, before the middle of the twelfth century, and not a century or more after the miracles had occurred. Nikol'skij tried to reduce the rather wide limits of 1091 and 1150 and assign the date of composition to the period 1093-1096. Although the Eulogy could well have been written then, Nikol'skij's argument that this is the only possible date of composition is not convincing. The lament about the attacks of pagans could easily refer to the destruction wrought by the Polovcy in 1096. This would not have prevented the author from referring to Theodosij's promise that the monastery would flourish if he wrote in or after 1108 when Theodosij was added to the synodikon and when the refectory commissioned by Gleb Vseslavič was completed. Consequently it seems best to date the composition of the Eulogy to the first half of the twelfth century and to conclude that it is not proof of the

---

[13]Nikol'skij, Materialy dlja povremennogo spiska: 435-441; Leonid, "Dva pamjatnika": 5, 19, 24-25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

survival of Theodosij's remains.

Summing up, it is clear that Theodosij continued to be venerated throughout Rus' after he was included in the synodikon in 1108. There is some evidence that his cult was less significant than that of Boris and Gleb, and we cannot point to a specific social group which venerated him after the middle of the twelfth century as we can in the case of the slain princes. However the cults of both Theodosij and Boris and Gleb changed in nature during the Mongol era: with the destruction of Kiev their veneration ceased to be the cults of their miracle-working remains, centered about the tombs of the saints in the Monastery of the Caves and in Vyšgorod.

What meaning did the cult of Theodosij have outside of Kiev? The Kievan saints who were universally venerated in the Kievan era were eclipsed to some degree during the period of political regionalism or "feudal disintegration" which followed. As the towns of the North and Northeast grew, and as princely lines became established in each town, the inhabitants wanted their own saints at whose tombs they could pray and near whom they could be buried--in a word, saints who could play the same role as Theodosij and Boris and Gleb played in Kiev. Consequently in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries cults of local patron saints appeared. These saints, such as Leontij of Rostov, Dovmont of Pskov, Petr of Moscow and Varlaam Xutynskij of Novgorod were viewed as the defenders and guardians of the towns or principalities in which they had lived, and their veneration was geographically limited to one region. Most were great miracle-workers of the stature of Boris and Gleb and Nicholas of Myra, and the focus of each cult was the tomb of the saint

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which brought miracles to the faithful.

The appearance of these local patrons had important consequences for the liturgy in Rus'. The Byzantine calendar and the new feasts of the Kievan era were observed in every diocese. However during the Mongol era each diocese only added the feasts of its patron saints and defenders to its calendars. If we examine Appendix One we see manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which can be clearly identified as liturgical books of a specific town, such as Rostov, Pskov or Novgorod because they only include the patron saints of one diocese or principality. Consequently we can justifiably speak not only of political but of liturgical regionalism or disintegration in the Mongol era.

The first region other than Kiev to acquire its own patron saints and defenders was Rostov and Vladimir under the descendants of Jurij Dolgorukij. The remains of Leontij, Bishop of Rostov about 1070, were unearthed in 1161, and he was venerated by Andrej Bogoljubskij before the latter's death in 1175. The cult was used, as Voronin has observed, by Andrej Bogoljubskij as part of a conscious effort to endow his principality with its own feasts and religious traditions so that it would appear as venerable as the Kievan region and worthy of a metropolitan bishopric in the new capital of Vladimir.[14]

---

[14]For the unearthing of Leontij's remains and his veneration by Andrej Bogoljubskij see PSRL 15: 233; A. A. Titov, ed., "Žitie sv. Leontija, episkopa rostovskogo", ČOIDR, 1893, kniga 4: 7-9; Pravoslavnyj sobesednik 1858, No. 2: 301-311; Voronin, "Žitie Leontija": 26-28, 31 and footnote 29. Andrej Bogoljubskij's program of establishing feasts and fostering religious traditions included transferring the "Vladimir" icon of the Virgin from Vyšgorod to Vladimir in 1155, and instituting the feast of August 1 in memory of Andrej's victory over the Volga Bulgars in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The cult of Leontij expanded and was firmly established during the reign of Andrej's brother, Vsevolod "the Big Nest". It was in his reign that the office and sermon (poučenie) to Leontij were written and that miracles occurred. Vsevolod also established a magnificent but short-lived dynastic veneration of Demitry of Thessalonika, "the Great Martyr". Under Vsevolod's sons relics of the Passion, of Mary Magdalene and of Longinus the Centurion were brought from Constantinople. The body of Avraamij, a merchant murdered in Great Bulgar on the Volga in 1229 were brought to Vladimir in 1230, and in the same year Leontij's remains were transferred to a new cathedral church in Rostov.[15]

1164 and Manuel Comnenus' supposed victory over the Saracens the same day. It is not proven, however, that Andrej, inspired by a passage in the Life of Andreas Salos, also established the feast of the Intercession of the Virgin (Pokrov) on October 1. The fact that Andrej built a church dedicated to the Pokrov on the Nerl' river is evidence that this holiday was observed in his reign, but there is no proof that it was instituted by Andrej. For the political background of Andrej's cultural and ecclesiastical policy see W. Vodoff (=Vodov), "Un 'parti théocratique' dans la Russie du XII[e] siècle? Remarques sur la politique ecclésiastique d'André de Bogoljubovo", Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 17 (1974): 193-215; N. N. Voronin, "Andrej Bogoljubskij i Luka Xryzoverg" VV 21 (1962): 29-50; Idem, "Iz istorii russko-vizantijskoj cerkovnoj bor'by XII v." VV 26 (1965): 190-218; Idem, "Skazanie o pobede nad bolgarami 1164 g. i prazdnik Spasa", Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskix stran; sbornik statej k 70-letiju Akademika M. N. Tixomirova (M., 1963): 88-92; Idem, "Političeskaja legenda": 96-102. The translation of the icon of the Virgin and the victory over the Bulgars are mentioned in PSRL 1: 346, 352-353, 2: 482. The story of the translation and miracles of the "Vladimir" icon of the Virgin was published by V. O. Ključevskij, Skazanie o čudesax vladimirskoj ikony Božej Materi (SPb., 1873); For the feast of October 1, see Sergij, Andrej jurodivij i prazdnik Pokrova (SPb., 1899); J. Wortley, "Hagia Skepe and Pokrov Bogoroditsi; a Curious Coincidence", Analecta Bollandiana 89 (1971): 149-154; L. Ryden, "The Vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the Feast of the Pokrov", Ibid. 94 (1976): 63-82.

[15]For the cult of Leontij in the time of Vsevolod III see Titov: 11-18, 33-35; Voronin, "Žitie Leontija": 35-41; PSRL 15: 281-282. Vsevolod, whose Christian name was Demitry, built a palace church dedicated

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The cults of Leontij and Theodosij were similar in that both were closely connected with the veneration of the Virgin, and both saints were buried in churches dedicated to her Dormition. The cults differed in that the cult of Leontij regained popularity and prominence after over a century and a half of inactivity, lasting from the translation of 1230 until the episcopacy of Archbishop Feodor, 1390-1395. At that time miracles began to occur again, continuing throughout the reign of Ivan III.[16]

In the fourteenth century the cult of another Rostov saint appeared: Ignatij, Abbot of the Monastery of the Epiphany and later Bishop of Rostov. Unfortunately the circumstances surround the beginning of the veneration of St. Ignatij have not yet been examined.[17]

---

to Demitry of Thessalonika at his court in Vladimir, had relics of the saint brought from Greece and named his youngest son Demitry. An icon of St. Demitry is attributed by some to Vsevolod's court; see PSRL 1: 411-412, 414, 436-437; Ju. K. Begunov, "Greko-slavjanskaja tradicija počitanija Dmitrija solunskogo i russkoj duxovnyj stix o nem", Byzantinoslavica 36 (1975): 149-153; N. N. Voronin, Zodčestvo severo-vostočnoj Rusi XII-XV vekov (M., 1961-1962) 1: 262-264; V. I. Antonova, "Istoričeskoe značenie izobraženija Dmitrija solunskogo XII v. iz goroda Dmitrova", ANSSSR, Institut istorii material'noj kul'tury, Kratkie soobščenija 41 (1951): 85-98. The translation of the relics from Constantinople is mentioned in PSRL 1: 441-442. For the death of Avraamij and the translation of his body to Vladimir see Ibid. 1: 452-453. The presence of Armenian merchants in Great Bulgar is discussed by A. P. Smirnov in "Armjanskaja kolonija goroda Bolgara", Materialy i issledovanija po arxeologii SSSR 61 (1958): 330-359.

[16]PSRL 1: 351, 15: 234-235; Voronin, "Žitie Leontija": 37; Titov: 12, 19-32, 33.

[17]Golubinskij, Istorija kanonizacii: 80-81, concluded that Ignatij was not considered a saint until 1480. However he was apparently unaware of the existence of Ignatij's Life in two parchment MSS. from the fourteenth century and in another dated 1459; see Appendix One, Nos. 85, 88, 120. Ključevskij briefly discussed the Life of Ignatij in Drevnerusskie žitija svjatyx: 38-43.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The town of Pskov had two patron saints, Vsevolod (Gavriil) whose cult appeared in the twelfth century and Dovmont (Timofej) whose cult appeared in the fourteenth century. Both saints were seen primarily as the defenders of Pskov against the attacks of "German" knights. Vsevolod's shield and sword were placed atop his tomb as a symbol of his continuous presence. Both saints were frequently invoked in the chronicles as defenders. In 1480, for example, the beleaguered citizens of Pskov took the pall from Dovmont's tomb and organized a procession three times around the town to ensure its defense.[18]

The cults of Vsevolod and Dovmont provide a good example of the localism which characterized the cults of saints in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Neither saint was venerated in Novgorod, although Pskov was part of the diocese of Novgorod and administered by its bishop. The nature of these local loyalties is further clarified by an incident from the Life of Vsevolod/Gavriil. Upon Vsevolod's death a certain priest of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Novgorod named Poljud appeared in Pskov to claim the body for his city, presumably on the grounds that

---

[18] Vsevolod died in 1138; the translation of his uncorrupted remains from the Church of St. Demitry to the Cathedral dedicated to the Trinity in 1192 and the occurrence of a miracle sometime later prove that he was venerated by the end of the twelfth century. The circumstances surrounding the beginning of the cult have not yet been studied; see PSRL 21, part 1: 193-203; Serebrjanskij: 257-261. Dovmont/Timofej died in 1299 and in 1373 a church was dedicated to him proving that he was venerated as a saint. For the Life of Dovmont and indications of his cult see Serebrjanskij: 261-283 and Texts 138-156; Pskovskie letopisi ed. by A. N. Nasonov, (M., 1941-1955) 1: 3-5, 11, 16, 19, 23, 29, 2: 16-18, 82-83. The biography of Dovmont found in the Pskov chronicles was analyzed by H. J. Grabmueller, Die Pskover Chroniken (Wiesbaden, 1975): 114-121. See also F. A. Kalikin, "Portretnoe izobraženie pskovskogo knjazja Dovmonta", TODRL 18 (1962): 272-276; Appendix One, Nos. 80, 99.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vsevolod had been Prince of Novgorod for several years and that Pskov was part of the diocese of Novgorod. The citizens of Pskov vigorously defended their right to the body; moreover Poljud found that, try as he might, he was unable to move Vsevolod's casket, a clear indication that the saint wished to remain in Pskov. The dispute ended when bits of Vsevolod's fingernails fell from the coffin, providing Poljud with a precious relic which he carried back to Novgorod.[19]

Novgorod, like Kiev and Vladimir with their cults of Clement of Rome and Demitry of Thessalonika, venerated both Byzantine and indigenous saints as its patrons. There was a small cult of Arkadij, Bishop of Novgorod in the middle of the twelfth century, who was buried in the Cathedral of St. Sophia, and a somewhat larger cult of Varlaam, a monk of the late twelfth century who was buried in the monastery which he had founded at Xutyn'. In addition there were important local cults of Nicholas of Myra and of the Byzantine saint Paraskeva "Pjatnica". However there is no evidence that Bishop Nikita, who died on January 30, 6616/1109 and Archbishop Moisej, 1352-1359, were venerated before 1400.[20]

---

[19]PSRL 21, part 1: 199. The motif of the coffin which cannot be moved appears in the account of the translation of the remains of Boris and Gleb in 1072 and 1115: PSRL 1: 181-182, 2: 171-172; Uspenskij sbornik: 62-63, 70-71.

[20]The only indication that Arkadij and Varlaam were venerated before 1400 is the presence of their Lives in several synaxaries; see Appendix One, Nos. 40, 67, 75, 76. The cult of Arkadij apparently never developed, since his short, synaxary life without miracles was included in the Velikie Minei-Četii, September 18: 1247-1248. The cult of Varlaam, on the other hand, became more active in the early fifteenth century when four miracles occurred; VMČ, November 6: 207-211; L. A. Dmitriev, Žitijnye povesti russkogo severa kak pamjatnik literatury XIII-XVII vv. (L., 1973): 19-25. Churches to Nicholas of Myra were built in Novgorod in 1113, 1135, 1165, 1312 and 1390; see NPL: 20, 23, 31-32, 94, 273. For St. Paraskeva see

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Moscow's sole patron saint was Metropolitan Petr, who chose to be buried in Moscow although he had resided in Vladimir. Petr died on December 21, 1326, and miracles began to occur twenty days later. An official statement of these events was made by Bishop Proxor of Rostov at the Church Council of Vladimir in 1327. Petr was either canonized at that council or shortly thereafter, as is seen from the letter of John XIV, Patriarch of Constantinople, from the year 1339. Petr quickly became a great miracle-worker in Moscow. Cures and other miracles occurring at his tomb are recorded in the chronicles under the years 1348, 1351, 1372, 1395, 1408 and 1416; he was also associated with Metropolitan Aleksej's curing of Tajdula, the wife of Khan Čanibek.[21]

P. Bushkovitch, "Urban Ideology in Medieval Novgorod: an Iconographic Approach", Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique 16 (January-March, 1975): 19-26. The belief that Nikita was canonized is based on one statement in the Kievan Caves Patericon; see KPP: 127; Golubinskij, Istorija kanonizacii: 56. Moisej is thought to have been canonized shortly after his death because he and his successor Aleksej (1359-1388) are depicted with haloes in a fresco in the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin of the Field in Volotovo, near Novgorod. However the fresco, which was commissioned by Aleksej, must be considered iconographic propaganda and of no canonical significance. See V. N. Lazarev, Old Russian Murals and Mosaics (London, 1966): 165-167; NPL: 362, 368; Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi II/1: 185-187. A. S. Xorošev asserted that the haloes were proof of canonization in "Iz istorii bor'by Novgoroda protiv Moskvy (mestnaja kanonizacija 30- 40-x godov XV v.)", Vestnik moskovskogo universiteta 1971, No. 6: 55.

[21] The beginning of the cult of Metropolitan Petr was discussed by V. A. Kučkin, "Skazanie o smerti mitropolita Petra", TODRL 18 (1962): 59-79. The earliest MS. of the Life of Petr was published by Makarij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi 4: 312-316. See also the Life of Petr by Kiprian, VMČ, December 21: 1620-1646. The letter of John XIV was published by F. Miklosich and J. Mueller, Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana (Vienna, 1860-1890) 1: 191, in Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka 6, addendum: 12-14, by Golubinskij, Istorija kanonizacii: 382-383. For the miraculous cures see PSRL 10: 219, 220, 222; 11: 17, 157, 203, 231; Ustjužskij letopisnyj svod, ed. by K. N. Serbina (M.-L., 1950): 71. According to the Life of Metropolitan Aleksej, Khan Čanibek asked Aleksej

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Two exceptions to this phenomenon of local patron saints are Mixail of Černigov and Vladimir the baptiser of Rus'. Mixail Vsevolodovič, Prince of Černigov, and his bojar Feodor were killed by Khan Batu at the Horde on September 20, 1246. They must be considered saints since the story of their death, which is very similar in style to a passio/martyrion, appears in liturgical books beginning with the end of the thirteenth century, and because a church dedicated to them was built in Rostov by Mixail's daughter Maria, the wife of Prince Vasilko of Rostov.

The major problem with the cult of Mixail and Feodor is, as Serebrjanskij noted long ago, the inability to localize it. They were probably venerated in Rostov because of Maria, and several redactions of their Life were probably written for services in the church dedicated to them. However we also find them in liturgical books copied in Novgorod and the western area of Rus'. Although one would expect Mixail and Feodor to be the patron saints of Černigov, there is no proof that they were venerated there. Therefore one must conclude that their cult was unconnected with the veneration of their remains or miracles and so resembled the cult of Antonij and that of Theodosij in the post-Kievan period.[22]

---

to travel to the Horde to cure his wife Tajdula, who had become blind. On the eve of his departure, Aleksej went to the Cathedral of the Dormition and saw a candle begin to burn by itself at the tomb of Metropolitan Petr. Aleksej took wax from the candle and used it to sanctify holy water. Both wax and water were used to cure Tajdula. See V. A. Kučkin, "Iz literaturnogo nasledija Paxomija Serba; staršaja redakcija žitija Mitropolita Alekseja", ANSSSR, Institut slavjanovedenija, Istočniki i istoriografii slavjanskogo srednevekov'ja (M., 1967): 248-249; PSRL 11: 32-33. See also Appendix One, No. 89.

[22]The shortest version of the Life of Prince Mixail and his bojar Feodor ends with their death and certain miraculous portents. Other redactions say that Mixail and Feodor were "honorably buried" or that their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

During the fourteenth century the feast of Vladimir the baptiser of Rus' begins to appear in the liturgical books with increasing frequency; in 1311 a stone church dedicated to him was built in Novgorod. This is peculiar, since no miracles were ever attributed to him and his Life, especially the Korsun' Legend, depict him as a hero rather than as a saint. The appearance of a cult of Vladimir is probably connected with the veneration of certain "princely saints" and "saintly princes", an important religious trend which has not yet been adequately explained.[23]

---

bodies were "preserved by a certain God-fearing Christian". However the only evidence that their remains were ever in Černigov at all is the fact that Ivan IV transferred them from that town to Moscow in 1575. As Serebrjanskij first noted, several of the redactions devote so much attention to Maria and her two sons, named Boris and Gleb, and the dedication of the church in Rostov, that they must have been written there. See PSRL 1: 523, 2: 795; Serebrjanskij; 108-141, especially 108-110, and Texts: 49-86, especially 49-50, 55, 58; Golubinskij, Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx: 62-63, note 3; A. V. Ekzempljarskij, Velikie i udel'nye knjazja severnoj Rusi v tatarskij period, s 1238 po 1505 (SPb., 1889-1891) 2: 20-21. For Mixail of Černigov and Feodor in the liturgical MSS. see Appendix One, Nos. 27, 36, 48, 72, 101.

[23]The church built in 1311 is mentioned in NPL: 93; for Vladimir's feast in the liturgical books see Appendix One, Nos. 22, 29-31, 37, 46, 49, 62, 78, 79, etc. The Korsun' Legend was discussed in detail by Poppe in SSS 3: 34-35; see also Serebrjanskij: 43-81. Three literary works from the eleventh century compare Vladimir to Constantine the Great and the Apostles for being the baptiser of Rus', implying that he was venerated: Ilarion's Sermon on Law and Grace, the Pamjat' i poxvala and the entry of 1015 in the Primary Chronicle; see Mueller, Ilarion (1962): 99-100, 117-119 and 169, note 44, 18f; Idem, Ilarion (1971): 41, 47-48; Rozov, "Sinodal'nyj spisok": 163, 167-168; Bugoslavskij, "K literaturnoj istorii": 144, 145, 148; PSRL 1: 130-131, 2: 115-118. However the latter two also say that Vladimir's remains did not work any miracles; this, together with the absence of Vladimir from the liturgical manuscripts, permit us to conclude that the baptiser of Rus' was not venerated until the beginning of the fourteenth century. Golubinskij, Istorija kanonizacii svyatyx: 63-64, believed that Vladimir was canonized by Aleksandr Nevskij at the end of the thirteenth century, but this was disproved by Serebrjanskij: 56-59. The terms "princely saints" and "saintly princes" were coined by Michael Cherniavsky, Tsar and People; Studies in Russian

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The cults which appeared during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries exhibit a number of important common traits. As a rule each saint was venerated in only one town as its special patron and most notable citizen: Leontij in Rostov, Vsevolod and Dovmont in Pskov, Varlaam in Novgorod, Petr in Moscow. The local nature of these cults was clearly reflected in the liturgical books copied before 1400: The liturgical calendar of each diocese differed from that of every other through the inclusion of the local patron saints of the diocese and the exclusion of the patrons of every other diocese of Rus'.[24]

Almost without exception the cults of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were cults of the saints' remains. The central element of the veneration of each saint was the saint's tomb, and the primary benefits derived from the saint were miraculous cures and the defense of the town. In most cases the remains of the saint were considered sweet-smelling and uncorrupted. In short, the form of veneration of these newer saints was similar to that of Boris and Gleb and Theodosij. On the other hand, the newer saints were, in many ways, more significant than the saints of the Kievan era because they were more immediate and tangible. A citizen of Pskov, for example, could pray at the tomb of Dovmont who had also lived in Pskov, and could look to him

---

Myths (New Haven and London, 1961): 5-43. Several authors have mentioned the problem of the fusion or confusion of princely biography and hagiography in the Mongol Era, particularly in connection with the Life of Alexandr Nevskij; see especially N. W. Inghan, "The Limits of Secular Biography in Medieval Slavic Literature, Particularly Old Russian", in American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists, Prague, 1968 (The Hague, 1968) 2: 181-199.

[24] See Appendix One, Nos. 24-103.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as the defender of the town. Boris, Gleb, and Theodosij, on the other hand, would have seemed as removed in time and space as the saints of the Greek church.

It is against this background that we must try to explain the appearance of the cult of Antonij, who had been forgotten, at least outside the Monastery of the Caves, for over three hundred years. Why did a cult of Antonij, whose tomb could not be venerated and who had worked no miracles, suddenly appear at the end of the fourteenth century?

The cult of Antonij appeared as a result of a number of developments within the Church of Rus' during the fourteenth century. The first of these was the increased contact between Rus', the Balkans and the Grecophone Byzantine Empire, as a result of which greater numbers of Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek clerics, such as Metropolitans Kiprian and Photios, came to Rus'. This led in turn to entirely new literary and liturgical activities, and a renewed interest in the Kievan era. It was this atmosphere which generated an interest in Antonij, who was tonsured on Mt. Athos and who brought the blessing of the Holy Mount to the monks of Rus'. Three examples will serve to illustrate this important development: Metropolitan Kiprian, the new redaction of the Life of Leontij of Rostov, and Dionisij of Suzdal'.[25]

Kiprian, a Serb, was Metropolitan from 1390 until his death in

---

[25] Literary scholars usually call this the period of the "second South Slavic influence", although there was also a great deal of influence exerted by the Grecophone Byzantine Empire in the period of the so-called "Palaeologan renaissance". For a summary of problems connected with the "second South Slavic influence" and bibliography see D. S. Lixačev, "Nekotorye zadači izučenija vtorogo južnoslavjanskogo vlijanija v Rossii", in Doklady sovetskix učenyx na IV meždunarodnom s"ezde slavistov, Moscow, 1958, 2: 95-151.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1406. As pastor of the Church of Rus' he added a number of canons and prayers to the liturgy, made certain lexical and orthographic changes in the liturgical books and wrote a new Life of Metropolitan Petr. The last activity is particularly noteworthy: we see that the head of the church, who was not a native of Rus', was concerned about recording the life of one of the saints of Rus'. As we shall see Kiprian was only one of several who had similar concerns.[26]

The new redaction of the Life of Leontij of Rostov, written as a result of the revival of his cult about the year 1400, reveals another aspect of this development: an interest in connections with the Greco-phone Byzantine Empire, either real or imagined. Whereas the early redactions of Leontij's Life stated that the saint was "born and bred in Constantinople", the new redaction contains a long, apocryphal account of Leontij's activity in the capital. We read about Leontij's relations with Patriarch Photios (died 979!), his life as a monk, and how "the patriarch" sought him in the monasteries of Constantinople with the express purpose of appointing him Bishop of Rostov. Far from being a product of the age of Vsevolod "the Big Nest", this vita reflects the spirit of the late fourteenth century, when Mitjaj, Pimen, Dionisij, Kiprian and even Photios went to or were sent by the Patriarch of Constantinople to become

---

[26] Kiprian's biography is discussed by Leonid, "Kiprian do vosšestvija na moskovskuju mitropoliju", ČOIDR 1867 kniga 2: 11-32; L. A. Dmitriev, "Rol' i značenie Mitropolita Kipriana v drevnerusskoj literature", TODRL 19 (1963): 216-220. For Kiprian's literary activities see: Amfiloxij, "Čto vnes sv. Kiprian...v naši bogoslužebnye knigi?", Trudy 3-go arxeologičeskogo s"ezda, Kiev, 1878 2: 231-251; I. D. Mansvetov, Mitropolit Kiprian i ego liturgičeskie dejatel'nosti (M., 1882, non vidi). Kiprian's Life of Petr is printed in VMČ, December: 1620-1646.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Metropolitan of Rus'.[27]

The biography of Bishop Dionisij of Suzdal', who was discussed above, presents us with another example of the influence and prestige of the Greek Church in Rus' about the year 1400. In 1381 Dionisij went to Constantinople to seek the metropolitan throne. While in the capital he had copies made of an icon of the Virgin, collected the relics of many saints which he placed in a reliquary which is still extant, and brought what were thought to be some of the relics of the Passion to Suzdal' and placed them in the walls of the Cathedral. In 1401 the latter were dug up and transferred with great pomp to Moscow.[28]

It was in this period, when many Balkan Slavs and Greeks came to Rus', when there was renewed interest in the Kievan era, including the saints Vladimir, Ol'ga and Leontij, and when real or imagined ties with the Byzantine Empire brought great prestige, that the memory of Antonij was revived among certain churchmen.

---

[27] Pravoslavnyj sobesednik 1858, No. 2: 301-311; Titov: 1-4. Voronin, "Žitie Leontija": 41-43, believes that the expanded redaction of the life was written no later than 1250 because it is supposedly similar to the Life of Petr of the Horde, a Tatar who converted to Christianity in the mid-thirteenth century. However Ključesvkij noted long ago that the Life of Petr is not a biography at all but a defense of the land and water rights of the monastery founded by Petr. He asserted that the work was probably composed between 1350 and 1400; see Drevnerusskie žitija svjatyx: 38-43. Even this is uncertain, however, since there are no MSS. of the Life and no traces of the cult of Petr until the time of Metropolitan Makarij. The Life of Petr of the Horde was published in Pravoslavnyj sobesednik 1859, No. 1: 356-276 and by M. O. Skripil', Russkie povesti XV-XVI vekov (L., 1958): 430-438. For the role of the patriarchs of Constantinople in the events following the death of Metropolitan Aleksej see Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi II part 2: 244-262; Sokolov: 500-517.

[28] PSRL 11: 70, 71, 184-185; B. A. Rybakov, Russkie datirovannye nadpisi (M., 1964 = Arxeologija SSSR, svod arxeologičeskix istočnikov, No. E1-44): 46-47; M. I. Mixajlov, Pamjatniki russkoj veščevoj paleografii (SPb., 1913): 50-53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The veneration of Antonij was influenced by another major development: the current of asceticism and mysticism (hesychasm) whose center was on Mt. Athos, which dominated Eastern monasticism during the fourteenth century. This ascetic, mystical current reached Rus' not only through personal contacts with the monks of the Byzantine monasteries, but through the works of Isaac of Syria (Nineveh), Simeon the New Theologian, John Moschus (Climacus) and Gregory of Sinai which were translated and appeared in Rus' for the first time. The influence of the new mysticism extended even to the forests of Northeastern Rus', as is seen from the Life of Sergij of Radonež.[29]

Like many other monks of the fourteenth century, Sergij preferred to live the life of an anchorite in the forest, although he did not attempt to repeat the history of the Monastery of the Caves as did Dionisij of Suzdal'. When disciples gathered around Sergij they continued to lead an idiorhythmic life, until the church heirarchy compelled them to institute the koinobion.

Sergij was not only an ascetic, but a mystic. We know very little about the nature of Sergij's mysticism; however it was probably not hesychasm, nor even systematic. Our only source of information is the account of Sergij's visions of the Virgin, angels, fire and light in his Life which was first composed by Epifanij "the Wise" and later rewritten by Paxomij the Serb. These visions are a clear departure from the demons and

---

[29] For background and bibliography on ascetic, mystical trends in Eastern monasticism see Beck: 344-368, 451-452, 585-587, 694-695. A. I. Sobolevskij was the first to note the appearance of translations of Byzantine mystical and ascetic works in Rus' in the fourteenth century: "Perevodnaja literatura moskovskoj Rusi XIV-XVII vekov", Sbornik ORJaS 74 (1903): 15-19. See also COIDR 1878, kniga 4: 137-158, 170-180; Vostokov: 253-269; N. B. Šelamanova, compiler, "Predvaritel'nyj spisok slavjano-russkix ruko-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

temptations of the Kievan Caves Patericon and Nestor's Life of Theodosij, and leave little doubt that Sergij was in some way influenced by the mystical trends of the fourteenth century.[30]

We do not know if Sergij personally venerated Antonij of the Monastery of the Caves as an example of the type of ascetic mysticism which he practiced in the forests of the Northeast. However it is clear that Antonij became a symbol or patron saint for other monks like Sergij who looked to Antonij the anchorite rather than Theodosij as their forerunner.

Although these developments explain the origin of the cult of Antonij, the rapid institutionalization of the cult must be explained by another factor: the unification and codification of the liturgical calendar begun by Metropolitan Photios, 1408-1431. Beginning with the episcopacy of Photios the metropolitans of Rus' began, without fanfare, to combine the patron saints of the various towns and dioceses into a pantheon of "supernatural defenders" of Moscow, that is, into a combined, ecumenical liturgical calendar which was established as a standard for the rest of the dioceses administered by the Metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus'. To these local patrons the metropolitans added the Kievan saints Antonij, Ol'ga and Vladimir, who were forgotten or not universally venerated, and a rapidly expanding list of "new miracle workers". In so doing Moscow was following the example of Constantinople, which in the eighth and ninth centuries had supplanted the local calendars of Antioch and Alexandria with an ecumenical

---

pisej xranjaščisxja v SSSR", AE za 1965 god: 213, 216, 218, 221, 228, 235 246, 261, 267-268. Unfortunately no one has tried to analyze the reception and impact of these works in Rus'.

[30]Fedotov, Russian Religious Mind 2: 203-222; N. S. Tixonravov, Drevnie žitija prep. Sergija radonežskogo (M., 1982; reprinted with an introduction by L. Mueller, Munich, 1967) 1: 40-46, 64-67, 113-118, 138-142.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

calendar of its own design.[31]

Consequently the cult of Antonij appeared as a result of three distinct factors: 1) a renewed interest in the Kievan era; 2) the importance attached to real or imagined ties with Byzantium; 3) the ascetic and mystical religious currents of the fourteenth century. The veneration of Antonij spread and became institutionalized with unusual speed because of the process of reforming the liturgical calendar which began in the early fifteenth century. The influence of these trends on the veneration of Antonij can be seen in three different periods: the time of Bishop Arsenij of Tver', of Metropolitan Photios, and of Archbishop Iona of Novgorod.

The cult of Antonij first appeared in Tver' in 1394; in that year Bishop Arsenij founded what later came to be known as the Žoltikov Monastery. The main, stone church of the monastery was dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin. A second, "warm" church was built dedicated to Antonij and Theodosij of the Kievan Caves Monastery.[32]

It is generally thought that Arsenij came from the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. His construction of the Žoltikov Monastery dedicated

---

[31]The term "supernatural defenders" was used by Norman H. Baynes in "The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople", Analecta Bollandiana 67 (1949): 165-177. For the ecumenical calendar of Constantinople see Ehrhard, Ueberlieferung und Bestand, 1: 25-35.

[32]PSRL 11: 156. Both Metropolitan Makarij and E. E. Golubinskij noted this event but only concluded that it marked the beginning of the veneration of Antonij in the North of Rus'. Only A. I. Nekrasov stated categorically that Antonij was "forgotten" after his death and that his cult was renewed at the end of the fourteenth century; see Makarij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi 8: 30-31, footnote 35; Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi II part 2: 589; Idem, Istorija kanonizacii: 59-60; Nekrasov, Drevnerusskoe izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo: 186-189.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to the Dormition of the Virgin, and of a church dedicated to Antonij and Theodosij was probably an attempt to imitate the Monastery of the Caves and to establish the traditions of Kievan monasticism in the North of Rus'. Bishop Arsenij even provided the Žoltikov Monastery with a copy of the Kievan Caves Patericon, the oldest complete manuscript of this work extant. Arsenij's redaction of the Patericon is unusual in a number of ways: It begins with a complete office of Theodosij, followed by Nestor's Life of the saint, yet it omits the entire story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named from the Primary Chronicle. Moreover Arsenij apparently altered certain passages in the Patericon in order not to offend the monks of his monastery, who undoubtedly felt that they were not without their own religious traditions.[33]

Consequently Arsenij of Tver', like Dionisij of Suzdal' before him, was motivated by a desire to transplant the traditions of Kievan monasticism to the North. Nevertheless, a closer examination suggests that Arsenij had a deeper interest in the cult of Antonij which was derived from his commitment to asceticism and even mysticism.

Arsenij is first mentioned in the chronicles as an archdeacon in the suite of Metropolitan Kiprian; he probably joined Kiprian during the latter's journey from Constantinople through Kiev to Moscow in the winter of 1389-1390. Arsenij was appointed Bishop of Tver' by Kiprian

---

[33] A number of scholars stated that Arsenij was originally a monk of the Monastery of the Caves on the basis of his biography: Pope, Literary History: 89-90; Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi II part 2: 589. However, Ključesvkij demonstrated long ago that the Life of Arsenij is not reliable; see Drevnerusskie žitija svjatyx: 182-183. For Arsenij's copy of the Patericon see Pope, Literary History: 89-90, 193-217; Abramovič, "Issledovanie", IORJaS 6, kniga 4 (1901): 68-94.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

on August 15, 1391, the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin.[34]

Although Arsenij was a monk in the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, it is possible that he was not a native of Rus' but a Greek or a Balkan Slav like Kiprian, himself a Serb who had spent several years on Mt. Athos and in Constantinople. It is likelier that Arsenij was a Bulgarian or a Serb than a Greek, since the chronicle accounts of the events of 1390-1391 identify Greeks as such but do not mention the nationality of either Kiprian or Arsenij.[35]

The appointment of a Serb or Bulgarian who was educated in Byzantium to the see of Tver' would not have been as inappropriate as it might seem. On the contrary, Tver' was in close contact with the main cultural centers of Byzantium. Greek clerics were present in Tver' at least from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and we know that Greek manuscripts were written there. Other manuscripts, both Greek and Slavic, were brought from Constantinople and Mt. Athos, and the prevailing Byzantine iconographic styles were accepted by the artists of Tver'.[36]

---

[34] PSRL 11: 122, 124-125, 126; Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi II part 1: 301-302; Sokolov: 560-577.

[35] G. V. Popov, "Puti razvitija tverskogo iskusstva v XIV- načale XVI vekov", Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Xudožestvennaja kul'tura Moskvy i prileža̋ščix k nej knjaže̋stv XIV-XVI vv. (M., 1970): 336, note 68 accurately sums up the debate on Arsenij's background. The Nikon Chronicle is very specific about referring to Metropolitans Matthew of Andrianople and Nikander of Gaza, who came from Constantinople with Kiprian, and to Bishop Eremej of Rjazan', as Greeks: PSRL 11: 122, 124.

[36] G. I. Vzdornov, "Rol' slavjanskix monastyrskix masterskix pis'ma Konstantinopol'ja i Afona v razvitii knigopisanija i xudožestvennogo oformlenija rukopisej na rubeže XIV-XV vv." TODRL 23 (1968): 174-183; G. V. Popov, "O xudožestvennyx svjazax Tveri s Afonom", Starinar 20 (1969) 315-322; Idem, "Puti": 310-358; Idem, "Sud'ba tverskogo spiska xroniki

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Whether Arsenij was a Balkan Slav or a native or Rus', it is clear that both he and Kiprian were familiar with and interested in the ascetic and mystical currents of the fourteenth century. Kiprian spent several years on Mt. Athos and may have been a disciple of the mystic Gregory of Sinai. We have no information on Arsenij's education, but his association with Kiprian suggests that they had similar backgrounds. Each had a copy of the Ladder of John Climacus (Moschus), a great mystical work, which are still extant, and we know that they shared other literary interests. Arsenij may have copied the Kievan Caves Patericon not only because it was a record of the history of that monastery but because it inspired those who would lead an ascetic life.[37]

One incident briefly reported in the Nikon Chronicle gives us some idea of the significance of these ascetic and mystical trends: it is the account of the death of Prince Mixail Aleksandrovič of Tver' in 1399. Shortly before he died, Mixail was tonsured by Bishop Arsenij and took the monastic name Matthew. Then he was buried according to the rites of the Great Laura of Athanasius on Mt. Athos by two monks from the Holy

---

Amartola na rubeže XIV-XV vv.", in Srednevekovaja Rus' (M., 1976): 75-83, with complete references to earlier studies of the MS. of the Chronicle of George Hamartolus; A. Turyn, Codices Graeci Vaticani Saeculis XIII i XIV Scripti Annorumque Notis Instructi (Vatican City, 1964): 113-114.

[37] For Kiprian see Steven Runciman, The Great Church in Captivity (London, 1968): 156-157. Both Kiprian and Arsenij were interested in the Chronicle of George Hamartolus, in compiling chronicles of the history of Rus', and each had a copy of the Ladder of John Climacus; see Popov, "Puti": 338; Idem, "Sud'ba": 75-83; Vzdornov, "Rol'": 189; A. N. Nasonov, "Letopisnye pamjatniki tverskogo knjažestva", ANSSSR, Otdelenie gumanitarnyx nauk, Izvestija, 1930, No. 10: 751-755, 760-763, 770. The Kievan Caves Patericon is aptly characterized by Fedotov in the Russian Religious Mind 1: 142-157.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mount who were present in Tver' at the time.[38]

Summing up, our knowledge of Arsenij's biography and the religious life of Tver' suggests that Arsenij chose to revive the memory of Antonij not only because he wished to establish the traditions of Kievan monasticism in the North, but because Antonij had become a symbol of asceticism and even of the new mysticism. Unfortunately Bishop Arsenij composed no homilies or liturgical works which would permit us to prove this beyond any doubt, or to be more precise about Antonij's significance in the spiritual life of Tver' and of the Žoltikov Monastery. However the office to Antonij written by Paxomij the Serb about 1460, which clearly depicts Antonij as a great ascetic, even mystic, disciple of the monks of Mt. Athos, and which will be discussed in detail below, indicates that Antonij had become a sort of patron saint of the anchorite and hesychast monks of Rus' by the end of the fourteenth century.

Antonij has been called a "symbol" of the anchorites and mystics of Tver'; the word "symbol" has been used on purpose, because the veneration of Antonij must have lacked the physicality and immediacy of the cults of the local patron saints mentioned above. Antonij was never considered the patron or protector of a town as was Vsevolod of Pskov or Leontij of Rostov. The veneration of Antonij was unconnected with his tomb, and no one claimed to possess any of Antonij's remains. In fact, no miracles were ever attributed to him. Although Antonij must have been liturgically venerated by Arsenij if a church was dedicated to him, there is no record of his feast day, no office and no Life. A copy of the Jerusalem Rule written

---

[38]PSRL 11: 182, 15: 459-461, 18: 144-148.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in Tver' as late as 1438 only includes the feasts of the Intercession (Pokrov), Petr, Theodosij, Boris and Gleb and May 9, the translation of the remains of Nicholas of Myra. Antonij may have been venerated on May 3, together with Theodosij.[39]

In view of this, especially the negative evidence of the Jerusalem Rule of 1438, it would seem that Arsenij's veneration of Antonij was a minor event of only local significance. Yet from its beginning in Tver' in 1394 the cult of Antonij spread to Moscow and Novgorod; from the liturgical manuscripts we see that Antonij was widely venerated by the year 1500, long before the church councils of 1547 and 1549 organized by Metropolitan Makarij and Ivan IV. This provides us with unusual evidence of a conscious interest in the veneration of Antonij.

Antonij was first included in the liturgical books, and thereby assured of veneration, by Metropolitan Photios, a Greek from Monembasia, who was appointed Metropolitan in Constantinople in 1408 and who directed the Church of Rus' until his death in 1431. Photios is usually known as a true conservative of the rights, dignity and unity of the Church of Rus': he demanded income and property which had been usurped or confiscated; insisted on the unity of the Church under his care against Grand Prince Vitovt and Grigorij Camblak; and defended the faith against the heretic Strigol'niki of Pskov.[40]

---

[39] See Appendix One, No. 114.

[40] Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi II part 2: 357-413; A. S. Pavlov, Pamjatniki drevne-russkogo kanoničeskogo prava, čast' 1 (SPb., 1880; = Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka 6): 270-304, 315-356, 361-384, 392-400, 476-488, 492-522.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The evidence that Photios supported the cult of Antonij is very meager. It consists of two parchment liturgical books which include the feast of Antonij together with those of Boris and Gleb, Theodosij, Leontij of Rostov, Vladimir, Ol'ga and the Varangian martyrs mentioned in the Primary Chronicle under the year 983. At first glance these manuscripts seem quite unimpressive; in fact they are startling when compared with those which precede them.[41]

First of all, these books indicate the establishment of the annual liturgical celebration of Antonij's memory, or, if one will, his canonization. They provide the first reference to May 7 as the day of Antonij's feast. Furthermore, both books include the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named, which of course is only partly devoted to Antonij, as his synaxary biography. This is further proof that there was no "lost" Life of Antonij extant in the early fifteenth century; if there had been, one would expect Bishop Arsenij, a former monk of the Monastery of the

---

[41] See Appendix One, Nos. 170, 171. The former has a colophon which says that it was finished on September 24, 6914 (1406) in the time of Grand Prince Vasilij Dmitrievič and Archbishop Photios of Kiev and all Rus'. The year must be considered a scribal error. The fact that it became part of the library of the Cathedral of the Dormition in Moscow strongly suggests that it was written under Photios' supervision. The second MS. is from the early fifteenth century and cannot be dated exactly. Inasmuch as it includes the same highly unusual list of saints it was probably written in conjunction with the former, GIM, Usp. MS. 3. With a better knowledge of manuscripts and scribal hands it would conceivably be possible to be more specific about the origin of these MSS. and to locate their missing portions: each Prolog is only for the six month period beginning in March, which explains the absence of Metropolitan Petr, December 21. The presence of Antonij in GIM, Usp., MS. 3, which is of central importance for the history of this cult, was neither noticed by G. I. Istomin and M. N. Speranskij, "Opisanie rukopisej uspenskogo kremlevskogo sobora", Issledovanija po lingvističeskomu istočnikovedeniju (M., 1963): 92-93, nor by M. V. Ščepkina et al., "Opisanie pergamentnyx rukopisej gos. istoričeskogo muzeja", AE za 1964: 202-203.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Caves, or Metropolitan Photios, an educated man, to have obtained it. This also suggests that no one at the beginning of the fifteenth century, not even Metropolitan Photios, would dare to write the biography of a saint about whom nothing was known. Such endeavors would have to wait for Paxomij the Serb.

These two manuscripts, GIM Uspen. 3 and GPB A.1.264m also demonstrate that the cult of Antonij appeared, as mentioned previously, in conjunction with a renewed interest in the Kievan heritage which included Kievan literature and the saints of the Kievan period. Bishop Arsenij commissioned a copy of the Kievan Caves Patericon; Bishop Dionisij commissioned what is known as the Laurentian Chronicle. GIM Uspen. 3 and GPB A.1.264m on the other hand indicate the express desire to assemble as many saints as possible from the Kievan era. To the existing holidays of Boris and Gleb (May 2, July 24, September 5 and occasionally May 20), Theodosij (May 3) and Nicholas of Myra (May 9) Photios added Vladimir (July 15), Antonij (May 7), Ol'ga (July 11) and the Varangians of Kiev (July 12).[42]

Before the time of Metropolitan Photios Antonij had never appeared in the liturgical books. Vladimir's feast was included with increasing frequency after 1300. Ol'ga appeared frequently in South Slavic manuscripts, but only rarely in those of East Slavic origin, while the Varangian Christians are not to be found in any liturgical books before this time. There is no indication that they were venerated at all before 1400, but Photios apparently felt that they deserved to be included since

---

[42]The fact that Dionisij commissioned the Laurentian Chronicle is preserved in the famous colophon PSRL 1: 487-488.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their martyrdom--the only true martyrdom among the saints of Rus'--is recounted in the Primary Chronicle under the year 983.[43]

Photios also included the feast of Leontij of Rostov (May 23). This was the first time that a locally venerated saint was included in a calendar copied in another diocese. This act marked a significant turning point: From this time the metropolitans considered the patron saints of the various dioceses of Rus' their common heritage, not different from the Kievan saints. During the course of the fifteenth century successive metropolitans gradually combined the local patron saints into a pantheon of "supernatural defenders", forming an ecumenical calendar which was upheld by the metropolitan resident in Moscow as a standard for the rest of Rus'. This phenomenon will be discussed in greater detail below.[44]

As was mentioned earlier, the two manuscripts in question provide the first reference to May 7 as the day of Antonij's feast. How can we explain the origin of the feast of May 7 when, as Chapter Two demonstrated, the day of Antonij's death was never recorded and soon forgotten? One could explain this by resorting to yet another lost text or some oral tradition which is now forgotten. The only reasonable explanation,

---

[43]For the cult of Vladimir see above; the problem of the veneration of Ol'ga is discussed in Chapter Two. For the appearance of Ol'ga's feast in East and South Slavic liturgical books see Appendix One, Nos. 78, 194, 195, 197, 199, 200, 203, 207. The martyrdom of the Varangian Christians is recounted in PSRL 1: 82-83, 2: 69-71.

[44]The first church dedicated to Leontij in Moscow was built by Metropolitan Varlaam in 1518; see PSRL 6: 263, 8: 265; M. V. Fexner, "Moskva i ee bližajšie okrestnosti v XV i načale XVI veka", ANSSSR, Institut istorii material'noj kul'tury, Materialy i issledovanija po arxeologii SSSR 12 (1949): 120-121.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

however, is that Antonij's holy day was intended to become a part of the May cycle of feasts.

The exact significance of the May cycle is not known, but there can be little doubt that the feasts of May were thought to be connected with one another. The cycle consisted of a number of Byzantine and Kievan holy days: Athanasius of Alexandria and the translation of Boris and Gleb in 1115 (May 2); Theodosij (May 3); Irene (May 5); John the Evangelist (May 8); Nicholas of Myra (May 9); the foundation of Constantinople (May 11); the translation of Boris and Gleb in 1072 (May 20); Constantine and Helen (May 21) and Leontij of Rostov (May 23). One should also mention Ignatij, who was locally venerated in Rostov on May 28. It appears that the bookmen of Moscow wanted to add Antonij to the cycle, and the seventh was wisely selected so that his feast would not fall on the day of another major feast.

The importance of the May cycle becomes clearer when we note that Photios consciously added two new holy days to the cycle by unearthing the remains of holy men: Metropolitan Aleksej and Nikita the Stylite of Perejaslavl'.

Unlike Metropolitan Petr, Aleksej was not venerated immediately after his death on February 12, 1378. His cult began with the unearthing of his remains on May 20, sometime during the last years of Metropolitan Photios' life. The ostensible cause for the inventio was the collapse of the Church of the Miracle of the Archangel Michael which Aleksej had founded and in which he was buried. Aleksej's remains were inspected and found uncorrupted; miracles began to occur sometime afterward. Although Metropolitan Aleksej's primary feast was the day of his death, February 12, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

feast of the uncovery of his remains, May 20, became almost as important and gradually supplanted the feast of Boris and Gleb which fell on the same day.[45]

Photios also unearthed the remains of Nikita, a stylite monk of Perejaslavl', who had been largely forgotten since his death about the year 1200. Nikita's cult seems to have been associated or confused with that of the Byzantine St. Nicetas, son of the Emperor Maximian; the latter was credited with great power over demons, and would have been known to Photios. Nikita's holiday, which was probably the feast of the unearthing of his remains and first miracles, was closely linked in the minds of the faithful with the feast of Leontij, since it appears in the liturgical books either on May 22, May 23 (Leontij's feast), or May 24.[46]

What motivated Photios to institute the cult of Antonij, which had only appeared some ten years earlier? No one claimed that Antonij worked miracles, and his cult was not connected with his tomb.

As an educated Greek Photios would certainly have been aware of the

---

[45]The unearthing of the remains of Metropolitan Aleksej is not mentioned in the chronicles before the Nikon Chronicle. The only source for the event is the account written by Paxomij the Serb; see Kučkin, "Iz literaturnogo nasledija": 248-253. The event is discussed by V. Jablonskij, Paxomij Serb i ego agiografičeskie pisanija (SPb., 1908): 75-80, 129-130; Ključesvkij, Drevnerusskie žitija svjatyx: 136.

[46]The story of the uncovery of Nikita's remains which is unpublished is printed in Appendix Two. The date of Nikita's death given in the manuscripts of his Life varies from 1186 to 1223; see Ključevskij, Drevnerusskie žitija svjatyx: 43-50. Nikita was a monk in a monastery dedicated to St. Nicetas in Perejaslavl', and the Life of the latter influenced the Life of the former; see A. P. Kadlubovskij, "Očerki po istorii drevnerusskoj literatury žitij svjatyx", Russkij filologičeskij vestnik 40 (1898): 176-192, and separately, Warsaw, 1902: 108-124. For the appearance of Aleksej and Nikita in the liturgical books see Appendix One, Nos. 120, 125, 146, 154, 155, 163, 165.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

religious currents of his time, but we have no indication that he, like Arsenij and Kiprian, was devoted to them. Photios may have promoted the veneration of Antonij as a response to the heresy of the Strigol'niki, who not only criticized the Church for its present sins, such as Simony, which had even played a role in the appointment of Metropolitan Pimen, but who also rejected the priestly and monastic orders and the rites of the Church. By including Antonij in the liturgical books Photios could have been insisting on the sanctity of the founder of monasticism in Rus' and consequently of the institution as such, from which the members of the upper clergy were drawn. Such a measure would also have served as a reproach to monks such as those of the Snetogorsk Monastery near Pskov who had lost sight of the monastic ideal and who presumably provided a target for the criticism of the heretics.[47]

It is likelier, however, that Photios' interest in Antonij was simply part of his general program of reviving the Kievan heritage and reforming the liturgical calendar. Antonij, the nominal founder of monasticism in Rus' who had visited the Holy Mount, was no more and no less important to Photios than Ol'ga, the first Christian ruler of Rus', Vladimir the baptiser, or the Varangian Christians, the first and only true martyrs of Rus'. Photios, a conservative in the true sense of the word, sought to preserve the past and restore the imbalance wrought by

---

[47] Concerning Metropolitan Pimen see Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi II part 2: 244-262; Sokolov: 500-517. For the Strigol'niki see N. A. Kazakova and Ja. S. Lur'e, Antifeodal'nye ereticeskie dviženija na Rusi XIV-načala XVI veka (M., 1955): 44-46, 49-51, 63-64, 69-71, 243-255. Photios invoked Antonij and Theodosij together with other great monks of the Eastern Church in an epistle to the Kievan Caves Monastery reminding the brothers of their monastic obligations. However he did not elaborate on the particular significance of Antonij; see DAI 1: 315-325.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the passage of time.

This does not mean that the metropolitan was motivated by an antiquarian spirit. On the contrary, the program of increasing the number of patron saints of Moscow and of unifying the calendars of the various dioceses, each with its locally venerated patron saints, into one, the calendar of the metropolitan, had tremendous immediate significance. As a Greek familiar with the ancient rivalry between Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria, Photios would have been well aware of the authority and preeminence which the metropolitan and his residence, Moscow, would obtain from the codification of the calendar and the formation of a pantheon of saints.[48]

To the existing feasts of Boris and Gleb, Nicholas of Myra, Theodosij and Petr of Moscow were added those of Vladimir and Ol'ga, Antonij and the Varangian martyrs, Aleksej and Nikita, Leontij of Rostov and Sergij of Radonež. By the middle of the fifteenth century Kirill of Beloozero and the saints of Novgorod had been added; before the year 1500 the list was expanded even further to include most of the locally venerated patron saints. In several cases, especially that of Novgorod, the unification of saints promoted by the metropolitans preceded the political unification of the respective principalities promoted by the grand princes of Moscow.[49]

---

[48] Ehrhard, Ueberlieferung und Bestand, 1: 25-35.

[49] The cult of Sergij began with the unearthing of the saint's remains on July 5 sometime between 1422 and 1424. The event is recounted in the Life of Sergij; see Tixonravov 2: 49-51, 80-82 and VMČ September: 1450-1452. Sergij's feast was included in a liturgical manuscript copied

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The process of codification proceeded gradually and unevenly, and was only completed by Metropolitan Makarij in 1547 and 1549. Nevertheless, by the year 1500 the Church of Rus' had acquired its own calendar, with the feasts of indigenous saints of Rus' scattered throughout the entire year, a calendar which combined and superseded those of each diocese and principality. This process was begun by Metropolitan Photios, a Greek; the institution of the liturgical veneration of Antonij was but one step in that process.[50]

The last development in the cult of Antonij occurred about the year 1460, when Archbishop Iona of Novgorod commissioned Paxomij the Serb, during his second stay in the city, to write an office (služba) for the founder of the Monastery of the Caves. This commission was not Iona's sole effort in the field of hagiography; like his predecessor Evfimij Vjažickij, Iona was active in a number of areas. Archbishop Iona canonized a stylite named Savva who founded a monastery on the Višera River some fifteen kilometers from Novgorod, and had Paxomij write Savva's Life

---

before 1425; see Appendix One, No. 106. Kirill of Beloozero died on June 9, 1427. He was venerated by 1448 in which year he was invoked as a supernatural defender of Moscow by Vasilij II and Metropolitan Iona; see L. V. Čerepnin, Duxovnye i dogovornye gramoty velikix i udel'nyx knjazej XIV-XVI vv. (M., 1950): 150-155; Idem, Russkie feodal'nye arxivy XIV-XV vekov (M.-L., 1948) 1: 128-150; AI 1: 86-87. The cult of Varlaam Xutynskij was established in Moscow by Vasilij II as a result of a miracle worked by the saint; see PSRL 6: 182, 183, 184, 321-325; 20: 264-269; VMC November: 215-222; Jablonskij, Paxomij Serb: 130-132; Dmitriev, Žitijnye povesti: 25-27.

[50]For the church councils of 1547 and 1549 and the vitae written under Metropolitan Makarij see Golubinskij, Istorija kanonizacii: 92-109; Idem, Istorija russkoj cerkvi II part 2: 186-189; David B. Miller, The Literary Activities of Metropolitan Macarius; a Study of Muscovite Political Ideology in the Time of Ivan IV (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1967).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and office. Iona built the first church to Sergij of Radonež in Novgorod in 1459 and was closely involved in the miracle worked by Varlaam Xutynskij in 1460 which led to the establishment of the cult of that saint in Moscow. He also commissioned Paxomij to write an account of the miracle of 1460, and an office to Metropolitan Iona (1448-1460). Lastly, Evfimij Vjažickij and Archbishop Iona each compiled a twelve volume menologion similar to the Velikie Minei-Četii of Metropolitan Makarij, although smaller in scope.[51]

Although Iona was clearly interested in hagiography and the cults of saints, one must still ask why he commissioned an office to Antonij. The biographies of Iona and Paxomij and the office itself provide an answer. Paxomij had been a monk on Mt. Athos; Iona was a disciple of the holy fool Mixail Klopskij, and subsequently founded his own hermitage known as the Otenskaja Pustyn'. Iona also canonized Savva Višerskij, mentioned above, who had journeyed to Mt. Athos and obtained several manuscripts. In other words it was the symbolism of Antonij as the nominal founder of monasticism in Rus', the ascetic who was tonsured on Mt. Athos and who brought the blessing of the Holy Mount to the monks of Rus', which

---

[51] For Paxomij's Life and office of Savva Višerskij see VMČ October: 25-39; Jablonskij, Paxomij Serb: 95-100, 180-181. The construction of the Church of St. Sergij is mentioned in PSRL 16 (Letopis' Avraamki): 199. The Novgorod Second Chronicle mentions the foundation in 1463 but one must agree with Bernadskij that the former date is correct; see Novgorodskie letopisi, ed. by A. F. Byčkov (SPb., 1879): 53; V. N. Bernadskij, Novgorod i novgorodskaja zemlja v XV veke (M.-L., 1961): 265. For the office to Iona see Jablonskij, Paxomij Serb: 182-184. Most of the volumes of the menologia of Evfimij and Iona do not contain Russian saints and therefore are not included in Appendix One; for a description of the manuscripts see I. K. Kuprjanov: 34-66, 276-320.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

aroused the devotion of Iona.[52]

Paxomij included all of these aspects in his office, which is the first work written about Antonij since the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named was composed in the second half of the eleventh century. The office does not indicate that Paxomij had access to any additional works about Antonij such as the "lost Life" which are no longer extant. Since Paxomij's office is the only direct statement of the meaning of the cult of Antonij it is worth quoting at considerable length.

> O holy father Antonij, you followed in the footsteps of the great fathers of the Holy Mount. You performed feats like a divine being incarnate. Your good deeds were an example to many, for which you deserved the gift of miracle-working from Christ, to cure men of many ills. Pray for the salvation of our souls!
>
> You were the founder of monasticism, o father Antonij, and made of yourself the first bloodless offering to the Lord. You conquered the devil with abstinence, love of wisdom, humility, high morals and boundless asceticism.
>
> Today Mt. Athos gloriously rejoices, o father, having accepted you like a new St. Abraham. Your homeland, o blessed one, rejoices to have you abiding here, and your cave, in which you performed feats, is adorned by you. The shining city of Kiev triumphantly celebrates your memory singing out to the Lord--you who have given this indestructible wall.
>
> You killed your bodily sensations with asceticism, o father. You entered your dark cave as one would enter a bright hall and there, as a disciple, you brought much to Christ.
>
> You abandoned the sound and fury of the world, rejected the world, and followed Christ according to the Gospels, living a

---

[52]The biography of Paxomij is described by Jablonskij, Paxomij Serb: 11-20. The sole source of information on Iona's monastic career is his Life, printed in VMČ November: 160-177. Savva Višerskij's journey to Mt. Athos is not mentioned in his biography, but is attested by the manuscript which he obtained there; see K. Kalajdovič and P. Stroev, Opisanie slavjano-rossijskix rukopisej, xranjaščixsja v Moskve v biblioteke grafa F. A. Tolstogo (M., 1825): 92-93.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> life equal to that of the angels. You attained the calm harbor of the holy Mt. Athos; then, with the blessing of those fathers came to Kiev and there led a diligent life, glorifying your native land and showing many monks the way leading to the kingdom of heaven. These monks you brought to Christ--pray to Him, o blessed Antonij, to save our souls!
>
> You fled this world as one would flee a terrible gloom, o blessed Antonij. You settled in your cave and there drew near to the depths of divine understanding. For this you were honored to see things far removed from us like a sage, and to speak of them as though they were near.
>
> O blessed one, you followed in the footsteps of the great Anthony, who settled in the desert to maintain silence and was permitted to converse with the angels. You confined yourself in the subterranean regions of your cave and were given to see indescribable light. You imitated the life of him whose name you took from youth, and with him you stand before the Holy Trinity--pray for the salvation of our souls![53]

Confident of himself as a hagiographer, Paxomij signed his work with an acrostic. At the beginning of the first canon he wrote: "If you want to know the source of information and the author, see the red letters of the seventh and ninth songs from this verse, omitting those of the Virgin ". The acrostic, when deciphered, reads: "Thanks be to the great Antonij of the Caves Monastery. Commissioned by the most holy Archbishop of Great Novgorod Iona, written by the hand of the sinful Paxomij of the Holy Mount".[54]

The office not only emphasized Antonij's asceticism, his connection with Mt. Athos and calls him the founder of monasticism in Rus', it depicts him as a mystic even though there is no evidence that he was one.

---

[53] The text is the same in the manuscripts and in the printed mineja; in the latter, however, it is found under July 10. See, for example, the mineja printed in Kiev, 1894, July: 99-110.

[54] Appendix One, No. 181; Jablonskij, Paxomij Serb: 171-172.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Metaphors such as the "bright hall", the "quiet harbor of Mt. Athos", "indescribable light" and the "depths of divine wisdom" which are used frequently throughout the work, reflect the mystical currents which prevailed at the time and strongly suggest that Antonij was a sort of patron saint of the ascetics and mystics of Rus' from the time of Arsenij of Tver'. The reference to Antonij's gift of miracle-working must be considered a locus communis, since there is no indication that miracles were ever attributed to the founder of the Monastery of the Caves.

The fact that Antonij was venerated in Novgorod during the time of Archbishop Iona permits us to understand the brief reference to Antonij's death in the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle under the year 6581 (1073).

The veneration of Theodosij, and later Antonij, appears to have met some opposition in Novgorod, presumably because of the claim contained in the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named that the foundation of Antonij and Theodosij is the oldest of the monasteries of Rus' and the greatest in honor. The monks of the Novgorod region apparently looked to Varlaam Xutynskij and Antonij Rimljanin as the founders of monasticism. As a result, the Novgorod chronicles usually mention the foundation of the Monastery of the Caves under the year 1051, but none includes the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named. Similarly the mineja for the month of May which was written in the Xutyn' Monastery for Iona in 1463 and which was part of a twelve-volume menologion commissioned by the Archbishop, includes the feast of Boris and Gleb on May 2 and of Nicholas of Myra on May 9 but omits both Theodosij and Antonij.[55]

---

[55] Appendix One, No. 121.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

On the other hand Iona and others venerated Antonij as an ascetic, as a monk from Mt. Athos, and as a mystic. Paxomij's office commemorated Antonij's death, which supposedly occurred on May 7. The compilers of the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle, working in the second half of the fifteenth century and quite possibly under the direction of Archbishop Iona himself must have been perplexed that there was no Life of Antonij or other reference to the saint's death. They must have decided to improve the record of the past by emending the existing chronicle compilation with the addition of the short entry of 6581.[56]

The development of the cult of Antonij in Tver' and Novgorod also permits us to understand why Kassian wrote the expanded story of the founding of the Monastery of the Caves, which recounted Antonij's two trips to Mt. Athos, for his second redaction of the Kievan Caves Patericon.

Kassian's primary concern in writing the expanded version of the tale was to resolve the chronological impossibility which arose from the juxtaposition of the story of Moisej the Hungarian with the account of Antonij settling in Ilarion's cave in 1051. However if the cult of Antonij as the first monk of Rus' to follow in the footsteps of the great fathers of Mt. Athos existed in the North, it must also have been popular among the brethren of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. Consequently Kassian, like Paxomij, was happy to expand the story of Antonij's stay on Mt. Athos since it was this element of Antonij's biography which was most important to the monks of Rus' in the mid-fifteenth century. Neither

---

[56] Saxmatov, Obozrenie russkix letopisnyx svodov: 182-188; Lur'e, Obščerusskie letopisi: 110-121.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Paxomij nor Kassian made use of any new historical sources such as the "lost" Life of Antonij. Instead they used their imagination and common knowledge of Mt. Athos to compose works which satisfied the needs of the moment.

In spite of this apparent popularity there was a fundamental difference between the cult of Antonij in the fifteenth century and the cults of Theodosij and Boris and Gleb in the eleventh century, or of Leontij of Rostov and Petr of Moscow in a later era. Antonij undoubtedly inspired devotion among the monks of Rus', but he was not a miracle-worker, and his cult was not the cult of his remains. No one attempted to write a true biography of Antonij. No one made a pilgrimage to his tomb, as did the woman from Dorogobuž who went to the graves of Boris and Gleb in Vyšgorod. No one claimed, as did the churchmen of Smolensk or Poljud of Novgorod, to have a right to possess the remains of Antonij.

The cults of Antonij and Theodosij ceased to develop after the episcopacy of Archbishop Iona. Theodosij continued to be included in the liturgical books and Antonij was included with increasing frequency from the late fifteenth century on, together with a rapidly growing number of "new miracle-workers". Nevertheless their cults remained of limited significance. Both Antonij and Theodosij are included in the copy of the Velikie Minei-Četii placed in the Cathedral of the Dormition (Uspenskij); under May 3 we find not only Nestor's Life of Theodosij but the entire Kievan Caves Patericon. Antonij is found under May 7 together with the story Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named from the Primary Chronicle. Apparently despite all the hagiography commissioned by Makarij first as Archbishop and then as Metropolitan, Antonij was not thought to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

merit a new vita. In fact, Antonij was omitted from the original copy of the Velikie Minei-Četii written in Novgorod (Sofijskij) and from the copy made for Ivan IV (Carskij).[57]

A slightly different picture emerges from the list or rites performed in the Cathedral of the Dormition in Moscow about 1634. Both Theodosij and Antonij are only granted a "medium" ringing of the bells (srednej trezvon), although Antonij is permitted a "grand" ringing in the monasteries, implying that he was seen as the true founder of monasticism in Rus'. However neither is venerated with the pomp reserved not only for Petr but for Boris and Gleb and Vladimir.[58]

The cult of Antonij appeared about 1400 because of the particular interests and background of Bishop Arsenij of Tver'. It was firmly established by Metropolitan Photios and spread as part of the process of unifying the church calendars in Rus'. The only original work about Antonij was the office written by Paxomij for Archbishop Iona of Novgorod, whose

---

[57]For the appearance of Antonij in fifteenth and sixteenth century liturgical books see Appendix One. Nos. 168-179; D. I. Abramovič, Opisanie rukopisej Sankt-Peterburgskoj duxovnoj akademii (SPb., 1905-1910): 61-64, 66-68, 68-70, 85, 95-99; Gorskij and Nevostruev, III part 1: 54, 206-207, 317, 323, 437. The May volume of the Sofijskij copy of the VMČ was described by Abramovič, Opisanie rukopisej 2: 92-113 (now GPB, Sof., MS. 1321). The Uspenskij copy was described by Archimandrite Iosif, Podrobnoe oglavlenie velikix četiix minej vserossijskogo Mitropolita Makarija (M., 1892): 140-145, 149-150. The Carskij copy was apparently used by A. V. Gorskij and K. I. Nevostruev in their "Opisanie velikix minej-čet'ix", ČOIDR, 1886, kniga 1: 171. A brief, and unsatisfactory description can also be found in T. N. Protas'eva, Opisanie rukopisej sinodal'nogo sobranija (ne vošedšix v opisanie A. V. Gorskogo i K. I. Nevostrueva) (M., 1970-1973) 1: 183, 200.

[58]"Ustav cerkovnyx obrjadov, soveršavšixsja v moskovskom uspenskom sobore okolo 1634 g.", Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka 3 (1876): 42-44, 54, 77, 78, 92.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

activities and interests were a mixture of those of Arsenij and Photios. The cult of Antonij, once established, could never become more than a ritual and Antonij never more than a symbol, because it was unconnected with the veneration of his remains. It was undoubtedly to make this connection that the bodies of Antonij and Theodosij were "found" in the late sixteenth or seventeenth centuries in the caves beneath the Kievan Lavra.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Conclusion

The preceding study has attempted to investigate the veneration of the saints of mediaeval Rus' by focusing on two of them: Antonij and Theodosij; founders of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. Although the point of departure was an historiographic debate involving only Antonij and Theodosij, the study has attempted to provide information pertinent to all of the saints of Rus' by examining the historical sources of the cults; by emphasizing the links between the cults of Antonij and Theodosij and other saints of Rus'; and by comparing the nature of the veneration of the founders of the Monastery of the Caves with the veneration of other saints. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to conclude by reiterating a few general observations.

We have seen that saints were venerated for a number of religious and worldly reasons which were mixed not only in society as a whole but even in certain individuals. Svjatopolk Izjaslavič provides us with an excellent example of the mixture of religious and worldly motives. He first venerated Theodosij because, being weak and unpopular, he needed to emphasize that he was the legitimate ruler but could not patronize the cult of Boris and Gleb. Yet after his victory over the Polovcy in 1107, Svjatopolk's veneration was undoubtedly motivated by the highest religious motives: a deep sense of thanksgiving.

In short, the cult of a saint meant many things to many people. Although dead a saint remained an important citizen and defender of a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

town or region and could actively express his will through miracles. To many people a saint was a source of cures and justice, as is seen from the miracles of Theodosij involving the monk Nikola who stole money entrusted to him, or the bojar who lost the favor of his lord, or the miracle worked by Boris and Gleb on behalf of the men who were unjustly imprisoned. The focus of the veneration of a saint was usually the saint's tomb; this was the place to which one went to request his aid, for there his remains were laid to rest.

On the other hand a saint's cult was not exclusively connected with his remains: many miracles occurred through visions, although, as a rule, the beneficiary usually journeyed to the saint's tomb afterwards to give thanks. Moreover some saints had symbolic significance as opposed to their role as miracle-workers. Boris and Gleb, as we have seen, were extremely important symbols of political legitimacy and stability. Theodosij was also something of a symbol of political legitimacy from 1074 until the early twelfth century, but this aspect of his cult appears to have faded with time. At the other extreme was Antonij, who was apparently viewed exclusively as a symbol of asceticism and the ties with Mt. Athos, since his veneration was in no way connected with the cult of his remains.

Another fact which this study has attempted to emphasize is that a saint's cult is not fixed for all times, but may develop as society develops. As a result it is not sufficient simply to establish when a saint was canonized, although this is an important aspect which should be somewhat easier given the information presented in Appendix One. It is even more important to trace the development of a cult, which may follow many patterns. Boris and Gleb, for example, were apparently venerated

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

continuously for centuries. The cult of Theodosij, on the other hand, seems to have reached a high point during the first half of the twelfth century and then declined slowly thereafter. Antonij was forgotten for three hundred years until a modest, symbolic cult appeared about 1400. Leontij of Rostov was, to judge by his miracles, ferverently venerated at the end of the twelfth century and again at the end of the fourteenth. Both the pattern of veneration and the form which it takes can tell us much about the history of the period.

A study of the veneration of the saints of Rus', and particularly the extant liturgical books, also serves to strengthen the notion that the history of mediaeval Rus' may be divided into distinct periods: unity in the Kievan era, regionalism or "feudal disintegration" from the late twelfth until the early fifteenth century, increasing unification from the fifteenth century until the time of Ivan IV. In the first period, the Kievan saints were universally venerated, and became part of the common liturgical heritage of Rus'. In the second period, each town or principality had its own patron saints who were venerated exclusively in that region. In the third period, the metropolitans resident in Moscow began to claim the locally venerated saints as their heritage, and to include them into a combined, ecumenical calendar for all of Rus'. This process culminated in, rather than began with, the church councils of 1547 and 1549 organized by Metropolitan Makarij. Moreover the process of unifying the dioceses and principalities began in the ecclesiastical sphere before it began in the political sphere, and the leading figures in the process were Greeks, not Russians.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix One

The following is a list of East Slavic manuscripts written before 1500 and South Slavic manuscripts written before 1400 which contain the lives, offices or names of Russian saints. The importance of this information for the history of the cults of Russian saints is described in brief in the Introduction. The list does not claim to be complete, but is a significant step beyond that compiled by Archimandrite Sergij in his Polnyj mesjacoslov vostoka 2nd ed. (Vladimir, 1901) 1: 114-358, 2: XIII-XXX. Only those manuscripts have been included which were examined de visu or which are described in reliable printed catalogues of manuscript collections.

The manuscripts are listed in the manner used by the Archaeographic Commission in the catalogue "Predvaritel'nyj spisok slavjanorusskix rukopisej XI - XIV vv., xranjascixsja v SSSR", AE za 1965: 177-272. To avoid confusion, the Russian names of the manuscripts have been maintained. For a brief discussion of the nature and function of the various liturgical manuscripts see Archimandrite Sergij 1: 3-8, and the Pravoslavnaja bogoslovskaja enciklopedija (Petrograd, 1900-1912) 2: 825-843, 4: 1059-1060, 5: 254-255, 12: 742-743.

Appendix One only includes the feasts of Russian saints, of the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas of Myra to Bari (May 9), of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pokrov (October 1), and of the Znamenie (November 27). Other significant holidays such as the consecration of the Church of St. George in Kiev (November 26), the journey of the Apostle Andrew to Rus' (November 30) and the feasts of South Slavic saints have been omitted. This has been done to prevent the list from becoming unmanageable and because these holidays are not always mentioned in printed descriptions of manuscripts. For the same reasons no disctinction has been made between the four feasts of Boris and Gleb: September 5, May 2 and 20 and July 24.

Bibliographic references have been given in abbreviated form; complete information will be found in the bibliography under "Sources and Descriptions of Sources".

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

East Slavic MSS.

12th Century

1) ca. 1100. Kondakar', "Blagoveščenskij". Boris and Gleb; perhaps Theodosij. GPB, MS. Q.n.I.32. Dostal-Rothe: 80-81, 103.

2) Early 12th c. Evangelie, "Mstislavovo". Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 1203. Biljarskij: 133.

3) 1119-1128. Evanglie aprakos, "Jur'evskoe". Boris; May 9. GIM, Sinod., MS. 1003. Amfiloxij, "Opisanie rukopisej voskresenskogo", Izvestija 7 (1858): 257-259.

4) 1144. Četveroevangelie, "Halickoe". Theodosij; May 9. Sinod., MS. 20 (404). Gorskij and Nevostruev, I: 208-215, 234-264.

5) 1157? Stixirar' minejnyj. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 517 (589). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/2: 314-334.

6) 1156-1163. Stixirar' prazdničnyj, Novgorod. Boris and Gleb. GPB, Sof. MS. 384. Kuprjanov: 57-61.

7) 1164. Evangelie, "Dobrilovo". Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 256, MS. 103. Vostokov: 171.

8) 12th c. Stixirar' minejnyj. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 519 (279). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/2: 347-362.

9) 12th c. Stixirar'. Boris and Gleb. BAN, MS. 34.7.6. Pergamennye rukopisi BAN: 14-15.

10) 12th c. Stixirar' minejnyj. Theodosij; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 518 (572). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/2: 334-347.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

13th Century

11) Late 12th c.? - early 13th c. Kondakar'. Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 304, MS. 23. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 2: 37.

12) ca. 1200. Mineja, May "Uspenskij Sbornik". Boris and Gleb; Theodosij. GIM, Sinod., MS. 1063 (Uspen., MS. 4). Uspenskij sbornik: 42-135.

13) ca. 1200. Ustav, studijskij. Novgorod? Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 380 (330). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/1: 239-270.

14) 1207. Kondakar' "Uspenskij". Theodosij; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Uspen., MS. 9. Bugge, Contacarium Paleoslavicum: 83v-84v, 99v-102r.

15) 1260. Trefolog. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 477 (895). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/2: 134-138.

16) 1270. Evangelie aprakos, Novgorod. Boris and Gleb. GBL f. 256, MS. 105. Vostokov: 172-173.

17) 13th c. Časoslov. Pokrov; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir. GPB, MS. Q.n.I.57. Speranskij, "Slavjanskaja pis'mennost' na Sinae": 100.

18) 13th c. Evangelie. Gleb. GBL, f. 256, MS. 106. Vostokov: 173-174.

19) 13th c. Kondakar'. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 522 (777). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/2: 384-389.

20) 13th c. Obixod, Novgorod? Pokrov; Znamenie; May 9; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij. GBL, f. 256, MS. 284. Vostokov: 404-406; Makarij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi 3: 303-315.

21) Late 13th c. Paramejnik. Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 304, MS. 4. ČOIDR, 1878, kniga 2:3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

22) 13th c. Prolog, March-July. Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir. GPB, MS. F.n.I. 47. Lavrovskij: 3-17.

23) 13th c. Stixirar'. Leontij of Rostov. GIM, Uspen., MS. 8. Ščepkina, AE za 1964: 165.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

14th Century

24) ca. 1300. Evangelie. Theodosij; Boris and Gleb; May 9. GBL, f. 256, MS. 107. Vostokov: 174.

25) ca. 1300. Evangelie. Boris and Gleb, May 9. GBL, f. 256, MS. 108. Vostokov: 175.

26) ca. 1300. Mineja, May. Theodosij. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 226 (1258). Golubinskij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi I/2: 513-517.

27) ca. 1300. Prolog, September-February. Gleb; Mixail of Černigov and Feodor. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 153 (346). Serebrjanskij, Texts: 165.

28) ca. 1300. Prolog. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 168. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166.

29) ca. 1300. Prolog, Pskov. Boris and Gleb; Vladimir; Theodosij. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 169. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166; Nikol'skij, Materialy: 429.

30) ca. 1300. Prolog. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Vladimir. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 170. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166.

31) ca. 1300. Prolog, Pskov. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Vladimir. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 171. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166.

32) 1303. Stixirar'. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 22. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 2: 36-37.

33) 1307. Evangelie aprakos. Pokrov; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 21 (740). Gorskij and Nevostruev I: 215-217, 234-264.

34) 1307. Apostol, Pskov. Theodosij; May 9; Boris. GIM, Sinod., MS. 45 (722). Gorskij and Nevostruev I: 292-294, 299-314.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

35) 1309-1312. Apostol, Pskov. Theodosij; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 46 (15). Gorskij and Nevostruev I: 294-314.

36) 1313. Prolog, September-February, Novgorod-Pskov. Mixail of Černigov and Feodor; Pokrov. GIM, Sinod., MS. 904 (239). Protas'eva 2: 48-49.

37) 1331-1332. Kannonik. Boris and Gleb; Vladimir. Leyden University Library, Scalinger, MS. 38B. Baar: 241-243, 255-267.

38) 1343-1344. Evangelie i apostol aprakos, Moscow. Boris and Gleb; May 9. GBL, f. 304, III, MS. 1/M.8653. ČOIDR 1880, kniga 4: 1-15.

39) 1355. Evangelie aprakos, Novgorod. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 23.(70). Gorskij and Nevostruev, I: 220-221, 234-264.

40) 1356. Prolog, Novgorod. Gleb; Varlaam Xutynskij. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 163. Dmitriev, Žitijnie povesti: 271, Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166.

41) 1357. Evangelie, Halič. Pokrov; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 24 (68). Gorskij and Nevostruev, I: 221-223, 234-264.

42) 1358. Evangelie, Moscow? Pokrov; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij. GIM, Sinod., MS. 25 (69). Gorskij and Nevostruev, I: 223-224, 234-264.

43) 1362. Evangelie aprakos, Novgorod. Pokrov; Boris and Gleb. GPB, Sof., MS. 3. Kuprjanov: 278-280; Abramovič, 1: 18-26.

44) 1365. Mineja služebnaja, July, Novgorod. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Vosk., MS. 17 perg. Amfiloxij, "Opisanie rukopisej voskresenskogo", Izvestija 7 (1858): 279.

45) 1370. Paramejnik. Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 256, MS. 302. Vostokov: 425-426.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

46) 1383. Prolog, Pskov? Theodosij; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 172. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166.

47) 1383. Četveroevangelie, Constantinople. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 26 (742). Gorskij and Nevostruev, I: 224-227, 234-264.

48) 1390. Sbornik žitij i slov svjatyx, West Russian/Lithuanian. Mixail of Černigov and Feodor; Pokrov; Petr of Moscow; Boris and Gleb; Leontij of Rostov; May 9. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 1045 (613). Leonid 2: 341-344.

49) 1398. Ustav studijskij. Theodosij; May 9; Leontij of Rostov; Ol'ga; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 381 (333). Gorskij and Nevostruev, III/1: 270-274.

50) 1350-1400. Apostol aprakos. Boris and Gleb. BAN, MS. 4.9.9. Pergamennye rukopisi BAN: 69-71.

51. 14th c. Apostol aprakos. Boris and Gleb; Leontij of Rostov. GIM, Voskr., MS. 5 perg. Amfiloxij, "Opisanie rukopisej voskresenskogo", Izvestija 7 (1858): 261-263.

52) 14th c. Evangelie aprakos. Boris and Gleb; May 9; Leontij of Rostov. GPB, Sof., MS.6. Kuprjanov: 281-282; Abramovič, 1: 35-44.

53) 14th c. Evangelie aprakos. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Voskr., MS. 2 perg. Amfiloxij, "Opisanie rukopisej voskresenskogo", Izvestija 7 (1858): 259.

54) 14th c., late. Evangelie. Pokrov; Theodosij; Boris and Gleb; GIM, Sinod., MS. 28 (64). Gorskij and Nevostruev, I: 229-231, 234-264.

55) 14th c., late. Evangelie aprakos. Boris and Gleb. GPB, Sof., MS. 7. Kuprjanov: 282-283; Abramovič, 1: 44-51.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

56) 14th c. Evangelie služebnoe. Boris and Gleb. GPB, Sof., MS. 8. Kuprjanov: 283-285; Abramovič, 1: 51-59.

57) 14th c. Evangelie. Boris and Gleb; May 9. GBL, f. 256, MS. 117. Vostokov: 181-182.

58) 14th c. Evangelie aprakos. Leontij of Rostov; Boris and Gleb; May 9. GBL, f. 304, III, MS. 2/M.8651. ČOIDR 1880, kniga 4: 16-17.

59) 14th c. Evangelie, Volyn'/Luck. May 9. GBL, f. 256, MS. 112. Vostokov: 176-179.

60) 14th c. Evangelie aprakos. Boris and Gleb Leontij of Rostov. GIM, Voskr., MS. 3 perg. Amfiloxij, "Opisanie ruskopisej voskresenskogo", Izvestija 7 (1858): 260-261.

61) 14th c. Mineja mesjačnaja, July, Novgorod. Boris and Gleb. GPB, Sof., MS. 208. Kuprjanov: 289-291.

62) 14th c. Mineja prazdničnaja. Vladimir; May 9. GPB, Sof., MS. 382. Kuprjanov: 290.

63) 14th c. Obixod cerkovnyj, Novgorod? Boris and Gleb; Pokrov; Theodosij; May 9. GPB, Sof., MS. 1052. Kuprjanov: 299-301.

64) 14th c. Paramejnik. Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 256, MS. 303. Vostokov: 426-427.

65) 14th c. Paramejnik. Boris and Gleb. GPB, MS. Q.n.I.14. Granstrem and Lixačev: 50.

66) 14th c. Prolog, September-December. Gleb. GBL, f. 304, MS. 33. ČOIDR, 1878, kniga 2: 40.

67) 14th c. Prolog. Gleb; Varlaam Xutynskij. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 157. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 167; Dmitriev, Žitijnye povesti: 271.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

68) 14th c. Prolog, September-February. Gleb; Pokrov. GPB, Sof., MS. 1325. Kuprjanov: 305-306; Abramovič, 2: 219-251.

69) 1350-1400. Prolog, September-November. Gleb; Pokrov. GIM, Sinod., 910 (244). Protas'eva 2: 53.

70) 1350-1400. Prolog, September-February. Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 905 (247). Protas'eva 2: 50.

71) 1350-1400. Prolog, March-May. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Leontij. GIM, Sinod., MS. 900 (246). Protas'eva 2: 46 (omits Leontij); Vornonin, "Žitie Leontija": 24, footnote 7.

72) 14th c., late? Prolog, September-February. Pokrov; Mixail of Černigov. GIM, Sinod., MS. 906 (248). Serebrjanskij, Texts: 167; Protas'eva, 2: 51.

73) 14th c., late? Prolog, September-March. Gleb; Pokrov. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 975 (96) (318). Leonid, 2: 292.

74) 14th c., late? Prolog, September-March. Gleb. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 976 (326) (317). Leonid, 2: 292.

75) 1350-1400. Prolog, Novgorod? Gleb; Arkadij; Pokrov. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 162 (355) (22). Orlov, "Žitie sv. Arkadija".

76) 14th c. Prolog, Novgorod? Gleb; Varlaam Xutynskij; Mixail of Černigov. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 159. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 165; Dmitriev, Žitijnie povesti: 271.

77) 14th c. Prolog. Gleb, Mixail of Černigov. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 161. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 165.

78) 14th c. Prolog. Theodosij; Vladimir; Ol'ga; Boris and Gleb. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 173. Šumilov: 59-60; Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

79) 14th c. Prolog. Theodosij; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 174. Šumilov: 59-60; Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166.

80) 14th c. Prolog, Pskov. Dovmont; Theodosij; July lacking. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 175. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166.

81) 14th c. Prolog. Theodosij; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 178. Šumilov: 59-60; Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166.

82) 14th c. Prolog. Theodosij; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 180. Šumilov: 59-60; Serebrjanskij, Texts: 167.

83) 14th c. (ca. 1340?) Psaltir'. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 431 (325). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/1: 537-574.

84) 14th c. Sbornik. Boris and Gleb. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 1 (53). Biblioteka moskovskoj sinodal'noj tipografii, I/1: 11.

85) 14th c., late? Sbornik, Rostov? Leontij; Boris and Gleb; Ignatij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 745. ČOIDR 1879, kniga 2: 137-138.

86) 14th c., late? Sbornik. Theodosij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 39. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 2: 48-49.

87) 14th c. (before 1389). Služebnik, Novgorod. Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 256, MS. 399. Vostokov: 604-605.

88) 14th c. Ustav/Ierusalimskij, Rostov? Boris and Gleb; Pokrov; Theodosij; May 9; Ignatij; Vladimir. GIM, Sinod., MS. 383 (328). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/1: 276-281.

89) 14th c. Ustav/Ierusalimskij, Moscow? Petr; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir. GIM, Sinod., MS. 384 (329). Gorskij and Nevostruev, III/1: 382-388.

90) 14th c., late? Ustav/Ierusalimskij, Novgorod? Boris and Gleb; Theodosij, May 9; Leontij; Vladimir. GIM, Sinod., MS. 385 (332).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gorskij and Nevostruev, III/1: 288-302.

91) ca. 1400. Evangelie aprakos. Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 45 (267) (59). Leonid, 1: 21.

92) ca. 1400. Evangelie, Ukrainian. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 31 (60). Gorskij and Nevostruev, I: 233-264.

93) ca. 1400. Evangelie. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 30 (401). Gorskij and Nevostruev, I: 232-264.

94) ca. 1400. Evangelie. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 29 (65). Gorskij and Nevostruev I: 231-264.

95) ca. 1400. Mineja prazdničnaja. Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 256, MS. 277. Vostokov: 396-397.

96) ca. 1400. Mineja prazdničnaja, Novgorod. Znamenie; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir. GPB, Sof., MS. 383. Kuprjanov: 293-294.

97) ca. 1400. Prolog, March-August, Novgorod. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Vladimir. GIM, Sinod., MS. 901 (240). Protas'eva, 2: 46-47.

98) ca. 1400. Prolog. Boris and Gleb; Vladimir; Theodosij. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 176. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166; Nikol'skij; 430.

99) ca. 1400. Prolog, Pskov. Theodosij; Dovmont; Boris and Gleb; Vladimir. CGADA, f. 381, MS. 179. Serebrjanskij, Texts: 166-167.

100) ca. 1400. Prolog, September-February. Boris and Gleb. GPB, Pogod., MS. 59. Granstrem and Lixačev: 57.

101) ca. 1400. Služebnik, Novgorod? Boris and Gleb; Znamenie; Vladimir; Mixail of Černigov. GPB. Sof., MS. 523. Kuprjanov: 317-318.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

102) ca. 1400. Stixirar'. Theodosij; Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 256, MS. 420. Vostokov: 650-651.

103) ca. 1400. Trefoloj, July and August only. Boris and Gleb; Vladimir. GPB, Sof., MS. 386. Kuprjanov: 318.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

15th Century

104) 1409. Evangelie, Pskov. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 27 (71). Gorskij and Nevostruev, I: 227-229, 234-264.

105) 1422. Stixirar' na krjukax, Pskov. Theodosij, perhaps others. GPB, Pogod., MS. 45. Nikol'skij: 453; Granstrem and Lixačev: 62-63.

106) 1422-1425. Ustav/Iuresalimskij. Sergij of Radonež; Pokrov; Petr; Theodosij; May 9; Leontij; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. BAN, Arxang., MS. D 3. Pergamennye rukopisi BAN: 192-197.

107) 1424. Stixirar', Novgorod? Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 520 (897). Gorskij and Nevostruev, III/2: 362-375.

108) 1425. Prolog, September-February. Gleb; Pokrov; Varlaam Xutynskij. GIM, Sinod., MS. 907 (839). Protas'eva, 2: 51-52; Dmitriev, Žitijnye povesti: 271.

109) 1428. Ustav/oko cerkovnoe, Savva Storoževskij Monastery. Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb; Leontij. GBL, f. 256, MS. 445. Vostokov: 710-712.

110) 1429. Prolog, March-June, Holy Trinity-St. Sergij Lavra. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Leontij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 715. ČOIDR 1879, kniga 2: 109-110.

111) 1429. Prolog, June-November. Gleb. GBL, f. 304, MS. 717. ČOIDR 1879, kniga 2: 110.

112) 1429? Psaltir', Novgorod? Vladimir; Boris and Gleb; Pokrov; Znamenie; Sergij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 308. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 79.

113) 1431-1434. Prolog, September-February, Novgorod. Mixail of Černigov; Varlaam Xutynskij; Jaroslav Vladimirovič (sic!). GPB, MS.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

F.n.I.48. Granstrem and Lixačev: 63-64; Dmitriev, Žitijnye povesti: 271.

114) 1438. Ustav/Ierusalimskij, Tver'. Petr; Theodosij; Pokrov; Boris and Gleb; May 9. GIM, Sinod., MS. 387 (331). Gorskij and Nevostruev, III/1: 306-314.

115) 1438. Mineja mesjačnaja, Novgorod. Varlaam Kutynskij; Znamenie. GPB, Sof., MS. 191. Kuprjanov: 294-295; Dmitriev, Žitijnye povesti: 272.

116) Early 15th c. Časoslov. "Oldest Russian SS." (sic). GBL, f. 304, MS. 344. ČOIDR, 1878, kniga 4: 111.

117) Early 15th c. Časoslov. Petr; Boris and Gleb; Pokrov; Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir. GBL, f. 304, MS. 17. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 2: 34-35.

118) 1400-1450. Šestodnev with offices, Pskov? Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; May 9; Leontij; Vladimir. GIM, Sinod., MS. 432 (707). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/1: 575-584.

119) 1400-1450. Ustav. Petr; Leontij; Boris and Gleb; Pokrov; Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir. GBL, f. 304, MS. 239. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 22-23.

120) 1458/1459. Sbornik of lives, offices, homilies. Sergij; Leontij; Ignatij; Nikita of Perejaslavl'; Petr. GIM, Sinod., MS. 923 (637). Protas'eva 2: 59.

121) 1463. Mineja služebnaja, May, Novgorod. Boris and Gleb; May 9. GPB, Sof., MS. 205. Kuprjanov: 296-297.

122) 1464/1468. Apostol. Boris and Gleb; Pokrov. GBL, f. 304, MS. 79. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 2: 69-70.

123) 1466. Ustav cerkovnyj, Beloozero. Theodosij; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Ščukin, MS. 315. Jacimirskij, Opis' starinnyx slavjanskix 2: 14-16.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

124) 1469. Mineja prazdničnaja, September-February, Perejaslavl'. Feodor of Jaroslav; Mixail of Černigov; Pokrov; Sergij; Petr. GIM, Ščukin, MS. 331. Jacimirskij, Opis' starinnyx slavjanskix 2: 30-31.

125) 1487. Sbornik. Sergij; May 9; Leontij; Isidor of Rostov; Nikita of Perejaslavl', others unspecified. GBL, f. 304, MS. 761. ČOIDR 1879, kniga 2: 168-169.

126) 1491. Prolog, March-August. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; May 9; Ol'ga; Vladimir; Varangian martyrs. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 983 (614). Leonid, 2: 295.

127) 1492? Prolog, March-August, Novgorod. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir. GPB, Soloveckij, MS. 484 (696). Opisanie rukopisej soloveckogo monastyrja 2: 207-209.

128) 1494. Mineja Čet'ja for September, of Dosifej. Ioann of Novgorod; Feodor of Smolensk and Jaroslavl'. GPB, Soloveckij, MS. 617 (500). Opisanie rukopisej soloveckogo monastyrja 2: 368-375.

129) 15th c. Apostol tolkovyj. Sergij; Nikon of Radonež; Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 304, MS. 116. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 2: 85-86.

130) 15th c. Evangelie aprakos. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 43 (651). Leonid, 1: 20-21.

131) 15th c., late? Četveroevangelie. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 62 (767). Leonid, 1: 33-34.

132) 15th c., late? Kanonnik. Sergij; May 9. GBL, f. 304, MS. 256. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 34.

133) 15th c. Kanonnik. Sergij of Radonež; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij, May 9. GBL, f. 304, MS. 255. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 33.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

134) 15th c. Kanonnik and stixirar'. Boris and Gleb; Znamenie; May 9; Vladimir. GPB, Sof., MS. 157. Kuprjanov: 288.

135) 15th c. Mineja prazdničnaja. Boris and Gleb, May 9. GPB, Sof., MS. 388. Kuprjanov: 299.

136) 15th c., late. Mineja služebnaja, May. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Leontij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 558. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 180.

137. 15th c. Mineja služebnaja, July, Novgorod? Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. GPB, Sof., MS. 209. Kuprjanov: 297.

138) 15th c. Paramejnik. Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 256, MS. 304. Vostokov: 427.

139) 15th c. Prolog. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 979 (687). Leonid 2: 293-294.

140) 15th c. Prolog, March-August. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; others unspecified. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 980 (748). Leonid 2: 294.

141) 15th c., late? Prolog, September-November. Gleb; Pokrov; Varlaam Xutynskij. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 982 (683). Leonid 2: 294-295.

142) 15th c. Prolog, Novgorod? Varlaam Xutynskij; others? GPB, Titov, MS. 226. Dmitriev, Žitijnye povesti: 271.

143) 15th c. Psaltir'. Petr; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Pokrov; May 9; Vladimir; Sergij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 312. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 85-86.

144) 15th c., late. Psaltir', Moscow? Petr; Theodosij; Pokrov; May 9; Leontij; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 406 (350). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/1: 412-423.

145) 15th c. Psaltir', belonged to Zosima Soloveckij. Pokrov; Petr; Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 407

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(708). Gorskij and Nevostruev, III/1: 423-427.

146) 15th c., late. Psaltir'. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Vladimir; Petr; May 9; Aleksej; Leontij; Sergij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 313. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 86-88.

147) 15th c. Psaltir'. Avraamij of Rostov; Varlaam Xutynskij; Pokrov; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; May 9; Leontij; Vladimir. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 668 (1017). Leonid 2: 42-43.

148) 15th c. Sbornik izbrannyx služb. Varlaam Xutynskij; others? CGIAL, f. 834, op. 1, MS. 797. Dmitriev, Žitijnye povesti: 272.

149) 15th c. Sbornik žitij i poučenij. Varlaam Xutynskij; others? LOII, Lixačev, MS. 323. Dmitriev, Žitijnye povesti: 272.

150) 15th c. Sbornik žitij i slov. Mixail of Černigov. GPB, Sof., MS. 1365. Abramovič, 3: 51-54; Pope: 218-238.

151) 15th c. Sbornik. Sergij and Nikon of Radonež. GBL, f. 304, MS. 763. ČOIDR 1879, kniga 2: 171-173.

152) 15th c. Sbornik. Leontij; Sergij; Nikon. GBL, f. 304, MS. 762. ČOIDR 1879, kniga 2: 169-170.

153) 15th c. Sbornik bogoslužebnyj. Sergij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 641. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 220.

154) 15th c. Sbornik bogoslužebnyj. Sergij; Aleksej; Petr. GBL, f. 304, MS. 640. ČOIDR, 1878, kniga 4: 219.

155) 15th c., late? Sbornik. Leontij; Nikita the Stylite; Aleksej; Varlaam; Stefan of Perm. GIM, Sinod., MS. 925 (948). Protas'eva 2: 60.

156) 15th c., late. Sbornik, notnyj. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 903 (691) (589). Leonid 2: 198.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

157) 15th c., late. Sbornik žitij i slov, beginning and end lacking. Petr; May 9; Kirill of Beloozero; Leontij; Aleksej; Theodosij; Mixail of Černigov and Bojar Feodor; Ioann, Antonij and Evstafij of Vilnius; Varlaam Xutynskij; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb; Avraamij of Smolensk; Pokrov. Vilnius, Public Library, MS. 102 (158). Dobrjanskij: 201-205.

158) 15th c., late. Služba to Varlaam Xutynskij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 631. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 215-216.

159) 15th c. Stixirar'. Sergij; perhaps others. GBL, f. 304, MS. 408. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 133-135.

160) 15th c., late. Svjacy. Sergij; perhaps others. GBL, f. 304, MS. 363. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 120.

161) 15th c., late. Toržestvennik. Theodosij; May 9; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 256, MS. 435. Vostokov: 681-692.

162) 15th c. Toržestvennik. Petr. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 328 (71). Leonid, 1: 425-428.

163) 15th c., late. Trebnik. Varlaam; Petr; Theodosij; Aleksej; Leontij; Vladimir. GPB, Soloveckij, MS. 724 (1086). Opisanie rukopisej soloveckogo monastyrja, 3: 89-100.

164) 15th c. Trefoloj. May 9; Pokrov. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 849 (743). Leonid 2: 144.

165) 15th c. Trefoloj. Aleksej; Boris and Gleb; May 9; Leontij; Vladimir. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 850 (256). Leonid 2: 144-145.

166) 15th c. Ustav, Moscow? Theodosij; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Sinod., MS. 386 (678). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/1: 302-306.

167) 15th c. Ustav studijskij. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij. GIM, Sinod.,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

MS. 382 (905). Gorskij and Nevostruev III/1: 274-276.

168) 15th c. Ustav. Petr; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Pokrov; May 9; Leontij; Vladimir. GBL, f. 304, MS. 240. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 23.

169) 15th c., late. Ustav cerkovnyj. Petr; Theodosij; May 9; Leontij; Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 354, MS. 8. (de visu).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

East Slavic MSS. With Antonij

170) ca. 1410? Prolog, March-August, Moscow. Theodosij; Antonij; Leontij; Ol'ga; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb; Varangian martyrs. GIM, Uspen., MS. 3. Snegirev, Pamjatniki moskovskoj drevnosti: 43; Nikol'skij: 420.

171) Early 15th c. Prolog, March-August. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Antonij; Leontij; Ol'ga; Vladimir; Varangian martyrs. GPB, SPb Dux. Akad., MS. A.1.264.m. Nikol'skij, Materialy dlja povremennogo: 420; Granstrem and Lixačev: 58.

172) 1494. Ustav, Vologda. Mixail of Černigov; Sergij; Varlaam; Znamenie; Petr; Dmitrij Priluckij; Aleksej; Iona; Boris and Gleb; Antonij; Leontij; Ignatij; Kirill of Beloozero; Vladimir. GPB, Soloveckij, MS. 766 (1128). Opisanie rukopisej soloveckogo monastyrja, 3: 177-181.

173) 1494. Mineja novym čudotvorcam, Vologda. Znamenie; Mixail of Černigov; Sergij; Petr; Aleksej; Evfimij of Novgorod; Iona; Theodosij; Antonij; Boris and Gleb; Ignatij; Vladimir; Leontij; Dmitrij Priluckij; Ol'ga; Nikon of Radonež. GPB, Soloveckij, MS. 616 (518). Opisanie rukopisej soloveckogo monastyrja 2: 358-367.

174) 15th c., late. Časoslov. "Oldest" Russian SS. plus Sergij; Antonij; Nikita of Perejaslavl'; translations of Metropolitan Petr of 1472 and 1479. GBL, f. 304, MS. 345. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 111-113.

175) 15th c., late. Evangelie aprakos. Sergij; Pokrov; Avraamij of Rostov; Znamenie; Petr; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Antonij; May 9; Isaia of Rostov; Aleksej; Nikita of Perejaslavl'; Leontij; Ignatij; Dionisij Glušickij; Kirill of Beloozero; Vladimir. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 46 (270) (62). Leonid, 1: 22-23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

176) 15th c. Mineja služebnaja, July. Antonij (July 10); Vladimir; Boris and Gleb. GBL, f. 304, MS. 577. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 184.

177) 15th c. Prolog, March-May. Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Antonij; GIM, Uvarov, MS. 978 (681). Leonid, 2: 292-293.

178) 15th c., late. Prolog, March-August, from Suprasl Monastery. Antonij, Ioann and Evstafij of Vilnius; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Antonij; Aleksej; Leontij; Efrosinija of Polock; Ignatij of Rostov; Ol'ga; Varangian martyrs; Vladimir; Avraamij of Smolensk; monks mentioned in the KPP: Nifont, Bishop of Novgorod, Moisej the Hungarian, Feodor and Vasilij, Alimpij. Vilnius, Public Library, MS. 100 (194). Dobrjanskij: 198-199.

179) 15th c., late. Psaltir'. Mixail of Černigov; Sergij; Pokrov; Avraamij of Rostov; Varlaam Xutynskij; Petr; Aleksej; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Antonij; May 9; Leontij; Kirill of Beloozero; Vladimir. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 670 (806). Leonid, 2: 44-48.

180) After 1492. Psaltir'. Antonij, Ioann, Evstafij of Vilnius; Leontij; Nikita of Perejaslavl'; Antonij; Theodosij. GBL, f. 304, MS. 314. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 88-91.

181) 15th c. Trefolog. Feodor, David and Konstantin of Rostov; Mixail of Černigov; Sergij; Avraamij of Rostov; Varlaam Xutynskij; Petr; Dmitrij Priluckij; Aleksej; Stefan of Perm; Theodosij; Antonij; Isaia; Leontij; end lacking. GBL, f. 304, MS. 617. ČOIDR 1878, kniga 4: 193-194.

182) 15th c., late. Ustav cerkovnyj. Feodor, David and Konstantin; Mixail of Černigov; Sergij; Pokrov; Dmitrij Priluckij; Aleksej; Iona; Antonij; May 9; Vladimir; Boris and Gleb; Kirill of Beloozero; Theodosij. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 646 (726). Leonid, 2: 23-24.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

South Slavic MSS.

13th Century

183) ca. 1200? Evangelie. Boris and Gleb. Present location uncertain. Lamanskij: 1-19.

184) ca. 1250. Mesjaceslov. Bulgarian. Fragment consisting of two parchment fols. Theodosij; May 9. Formerly Prague, Royal Museum, MS. 30 (Frag. 5). Jacimirskij, "Opisanie južnoslovjanskix i russkix": 662-663.

185) 1273. Četveroevangelie ("Trnovo"). Theodosij; Boris and Gleb. Belgrade, Yugoslav Academy of Sciences, MS. III a 30. Mošin, Ćirilski rukopisi, 1: 121-122.

186) 1250-1300. Četveroevangelie, Serbian? May 9. Belgrade, Povijesnij Museum, MS. 2 (P-39). Mošin, Opis južnoslovenskix, 1: 10.

187) 13th c. Prolog, Serbian. Mstislav; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij. GIM, Uvarov, MS. 973 (70). Leonid, 2: 289-291.

188) 13th c., late. Prolog, Bulgarian. Mstislav. Library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, MS. 72. Stojanov and Kodov, Opis 3: 135-137; Jacimirskij, "Melkie teksty": 201-204.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

14th Century

189) 12-14th c. Apostol, Serbian. Boris and Gleb. Belgrade Public Library, MS. 43 (914). Matić: 12.

190) ca. 1300. Evangelie, ("Lesnovsk"), Serbian. Theodosij; May 9. Yugoslav Academy of Sciences, MS. IV d 12. Mošin, Ćirilski rukopisi, 1: 122-123.

191) ca. 1300. Četveroevangelie. Boris and Gleb. Yugoslav Academy of Sciences, MS. III c 20. Mošin, Ćirilski rukopisi, 1: 125-126.

192) ca. 1300. Mineja služebnaja, June-August, Serbian. Boris and Gleb. GIM, Xludov, MS. 160. Popov: 314-315.

193) ca. 1300. Prolog, Serbian, belonged to Metropolitan Konstantin Mokisijskog. Mstislav; Theodosij; Boris and Gleb. Yugoslav Academy of Sciences, MS. III c 6. Mošin, Ćirilski rukopisi, 1: 157-164; Speranskij, "Iz istorii": 24, 37.

194) ca. 1300. Prolog, Serbian. Mstislav; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Ol'ga. GBL, f. 256, MS. 319. Vostokov: 447-454.

195) ca. 1300. Prolog, Bulgarian. Ol'ga; Vladimir; Theodosij; Varangian martyrs. GPB, MS. Q.n.I.63. Granstrem and Lixačev: 82.

196) 1324. Apostol, Serbian. Boris and Gleb. Present location uncertain. Martinov, "Annus ecclesiasticus": 347.

197) 1330. Prolog, Bulgarian ("Stanislav"). Mstislav; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij; Ol'ga. Belgrade, Serbian Academy of Sciences, MS. 83 (53). Stojanović, Katalog rukopisa: 40-42.

198) 1331. Tipik, Serbian (Xilandar Monastery on Mt. Athos). Boris and Gleb. Location uncertain. Martinov, "Annus ecclesiasticus": 347-348.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

199) 1339. Prolog, Bulgarian/Mt. Athos. Ol'ga; Boris and Gleb. GPB, Pogodin, MS. 58. Granstrem and Lixačev: 83.

200) 1340. Prolog. Ol'ga, Boris and Gleb, Mstislav. Present location uncertain. Lamanskij: 108-138.

201) ca. 1350. Četveroevangelie. Theodosij; May 9; Boris and Gleb. Yugoslav Academy of Sciences, MS. III b 23. Mošin, Ćirilski rukopisi, 1: 126-128.

202) ca. 1350. Četveroevangelie, ("Slepčansk"). Theodosij; May 9; Boris and Gleb. Yugoslav Academy of Sciences, MS. IV d 3. Mošin, Ćirilski rukopisi, 1: 130-133.

203) 1350-1400. Prolog, Bulgarian. Ol'ga. Library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, MS. 73. Stojanov and Kodov, Opis, 3: 137-147.

204) 1350-1400. Prolog, September-May, Serbian. Mstislav; Boris and Gleb; Theodosij. Formerly Berlin, Royal Library, MS. 47 (38). Jacimirskij, "Opisanie južnoslavjanskix i russkix": 389-390.

205) 14th c. Evangelie, Serbian. Theodosij. Formerly Berlin, Royal Library, MS. 3 (4). Jacimirskij, "Opisanie južnoslavjanskix i russkix": 261-263.

206) 14th c. Mineja služebnaja, March and April, Serbian. Mstislav. GIM, Xludov, MS. 154. Popov: 309-310.

207) 14th c. Prolog, Serbian. Mstislav; Theodosij; Ol'ga; Boris and Gleb. GIM, Xludov, MS. 189. Popov: 378-380.

208) 14th c. Prolog, September-May, Serbian. Mstislav; Boris and Gleb. Formerly Berlin, Royal Library, MS. 46 (37). Jacimirskij, "Opisanie južnoslavjanskix i russkix": 379-380.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix Two: Texts

a) Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named, from the Primary Chronicle, Hypatian MS., PSRL 2: 144-149.

b) Why the Monastery of the Caves is so Named from the Kievan Caves Patericon, Kassian's second redaction, KPP: 16-20.

c) Account of the unearthing of the remains of Nikita of Perejaslavl', from GIM, Uvarov, MS. 1162 (423) (127), Žitija Svv. Nikity perejaslavskogo i Artemija verkol'skogo, XVII c., ff. 31v - 35r.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

∴ И се да скажемъ. (чего рд)[a] чего ради прозваса Печерьскыи манастырь. бголюбивому[25] князю[26] Ярославу. любяще[27] Берестовое[28]. и црквь[29] сущоую[30] стхъ аплъ. и попы многы набдящю. и в них же бѣ прозвутерь именемь. Ларионъ. мужь блгъ и книженъ. и постникъ. и хожаше[31] с Берестового. на Дньпръ. на холмъ. кде[32] нынѣ ветхыи манастырь Печерьскыи. и ту млтвы[33] творяше. бѣ бо лѣсъ ту[34] великъ. ископа[35] ту[36] печеръку[r] малу .в. сажепю[37]. и прихода с Берестового. певаше часы. и молашеса ту Бу в тайнѣ по сем же[38]. возложи[39] Бъ князю въ срдце. постави его[40 k] митрополитомъ[o]. стѣи Софьи. а си печерка[41] тако[42] ста. и не по мнозѣхъ днѣхъ. бѣ нѣкии члвкы[43] именемь. мирьскимь[44]. ѿ гра Любча. и вьложи[45] сему Бг[46] въ страну ити[47 m]. онъ[48] же оустремиса. въ Стую Гору ити[s]. и видѣ манастыра сущаа ту[48]. и вьлюби черньцьскыи[49] образъ. и приде[50] въ единъ манастырь. ѿ сущихъ ту манастыревъ. и моли игоумена того. да бы на нь възложилъ[51] образъ мнискыи[52]. и опъ же послушавъ его[53]. постриже его. и нарче[54] има ему Апьтонии и наказавъ его. и наоучивъ[55] его черньцкому образу и рче ему. да[56] иди[57] опать въ Русь. и буди[58] блгиие ѿ Стыа Горы и мнози ѿ тебе чернорисци[n] будуть. и блгви его[59] ѿпусти[60] рекъ ему иди съ миромъ. Антонии же приде[61] Кыеву. и мышляше кдѣ жити. и походи по манастыремь. и не возлюби. Бу не хотящу и поча ходити[1] по дебремъ. и по горамъ. ища кде бы ему Бъ. показалъ[2]. и приде[3] на холмъ. идеже бѣ Ларионъ печеру[4] ископалъ. и вьлюби мьстьце[5 a] се[6]. и вселися в нь[7] и нача молитися Бу со слезами гиа. Ги оутверди ма в мѣстьцѣ семь. и да будеть. на мѣстьци семь. блгвиие Стыа Горы. и моего игумена. иже ма постриглъ. и поча жити ту мола Ба. ады[8] хлѣбъ сухии[9] и того[10] че-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ресъ[11] дн҃ь. и воды в мѣру вкушаа. и копаа печеру. и не дада[12] собѣ[13] покоа. ни[14] дн҃ь ни[15] пощь. вь трудѣхъ. пребываа[16] вь бьдѣнии[17] и вь мл҃твахъ. по сем же оуведавше. добрѣи чл҃вцѣ[18]. и приходаху к нему[19]. приносяще ємy на потребу[20]. и прослy[21] же и великыи Антонии[22]. и приходяще к нему просяхy ѿ него блг҃ословенa[23]. по сем же преставлешюся великому кнaзю Ярославу. и приa. власть єго. сн҃ъ[24] Изaславъ. и сѣде[25] Кыевѣ Антонии же прославленъ[26] бы[27] в Рyскои земли. Изaславъ же оувѣдавъ. житие єго[28] и[29] приде[30] с[31] дружиною своєю проса. || оу него блг҃ословенa. и мл҃твы[32]. и оувѣданъ бы҃ вспи[33] великыи Антонии и чтимъ[34]. и начаша приходити к нему. братиа и нача[35] приимати и постригати иa. и собрашася[36] братиа[37] к нему. яко числомъ[38]. ѳи[39]. ископаша[40] пѣру велику и цр҃квь и кѣлиа[a]. яже суть и до сего дни. в печерѣ подъ ветхымъ манастыремь. совокупленi[41] же братьи[42] рече имъ Антонии. се Бъ҃ васъ совокyпи[b] братье[43] ѿ блг҃ениa єсте. Ст҃ыa Горы. иже[44] постриже мене. игyменъ Ст҃ыa Горы. а иa[45] васъ постригалъ[46]. да буди на васъ блг҃ословенiе[47] первоє[c] ѿ Ба҃. а второе ѿ Ст҃ыa[c]. Горы. и се[48] рекъ имъ. рѣ҃[49] имъ[50] живете wсобѣ[51]. поставлю вы[52] игyмена. а самъ хощю. вь иную[53] гору сѣсти wдинъ. якоже и преже[54] бахъ wбыклъ. оуединивсa. и постави имъ игyмена. именемь Варламъ[55]. а[56] самъ иде в гору[57]. ископа печеру. яже єсть по҃ (ты)[d][58] манастыремь. в немже[59] и скончa животъ свои[60] живъ вь добродѣтели. и[61] не выходa ис печеры. лѣ҃ .м҃[62]. николи же никамо же. в нeи же лежать мощи єго. и до сего дни[63]. братиа[e] же[64] игyменъ. живаху в печерѣ. и оумножившимся братьи. и не могyщимъ[65] имъ вмѣститися в печеру[66]. и[67] помыслиша. поставити внѣ печеры манастырь. и приде[68] игyменъ и братиа. ко Анътонию. и рекоша ємy.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wт҃е оумножилоса братьи. а не можемъ са вмѣститиса[69] в печерѣ. да бы Бъ̃ повелѣлъ и твоа мл҃тва. да быхомъ поставилѣ[70] цр҃квицю малу внѣ (манастыр)[*71] печеры и повелѣ имъ Аньтонии. wни же поклонишаса ємy. и поставиша церьквицю малу. надъ печерою[x]. во има с҃тыа Бц҃а оуспенїе. и нача Бъ̃ оумножити. чернориѣць. мл҃твами с҃тыа Бц҃а. и свѣтъ[1] створиша. братьа съ игуменомъ. поставити манастырь. и рѣша. братьа къ игумену къ Антонию[2]. (и рѣша. ємy)[2 3] wт҃е[4] братьа[5] оумножаѣтьса. а хотѣлѣ[6] быхомъ. поставити. манастырь[6]. Антонии же р҃а бывъ рче[7]. блг҃вънъ Бъ̃ w всемь. и мл҃твами[8] с҃тыа. Бц҃а и сущихъ wц҃ь иже вь С҃тѣи Горѣ да будеть с вами[9]. и се рекъ. посла єдино[10] w[11] братьа[12] || къ Изаславу. кназю[13]. река. тако кнаже мои сѧ Бъ̃ оумножаѣть братью[14]. а мѣсце[15] мало. да бы ны[16] вдалъ гору ту иже єсть надъ печерою. Изаславъ же се слышавъ. радъ бывъ[17]. и[18] мужи свои посла. и дасть[19] имъ гору ту. игуменъ же и братьа. заложи[20] цр҃квь велику и манастырь. wградиша столпъємь[21 x]. и кѣлья постави[22] многы. и цр҃квь свѣршиша[23]. и оукрасиша ю[24] пконами. и w҃толѣ начаша звати[y] манастырь. Печерьскыи. имже[25] бѣша жили черньци преже в печерѣ. и[26] w҃ того прозваса[27]. Печерьскыи манастырь єсть же Печерьскы манастырь: w҃ блг҃внаа С҃тыа Горы. пошелъ. манастыреви же свершєну[28]. игуменьство[z] же держащю[29] Варламу. Изаславъ же постави манастырь. с҃тго Дмитрѣа[30]. и выведе Варлама на игуменьство. къ с҃тму Дмитрею[31]. хота створити вышии[32] сего манастыра[33]. надѣяса бг҃аствѣ. мнозии бо манастыри w҃ цр҃ь[34]. и w҃ боляръ и w҃ бр҃ства поставлени. но не суть таци. кации[35] же суть поставлени[36] слезами. и пощениємь. и мл҃твою[37]. и бдѣниємь. Антонии бо не имѣ ала҃ ни[38] сребра[38]. и[39] пощениємь и слезами такоже гл҃ахъ. Варламу же шедшю къ с҃тму Дмитрѣю[40]. и

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

свѣтъ [41]. створше [42] братья идоша къ старцю Аньтонию. и рекоша постави намъ игумена. wнъ же рче [43] имъ. кого хощете wни же. рѣша ємy кого хощеть Бъ̃ и ты. и рече [44] кто болии єсть в [45] вā. акь [46] єсть Федоспи [47]. послушливъ [48]. и кротокъ [49]. и смиреныи [50]. да сы [51] будеть игуменъ вамъ. братья же ради бывше и [52] поклонишā старцю. и поставиша Федосья [53] игуменомъ. братьи [54x] сущеи [55] числомъ. к̄ [56]. Федосьєви [57] же приимшю [58] манастырь. и [59] поча имѣти въздержаниє [60]. велико пощениє [61]. и мл̄твы сь слезами. и совокуплати нача многы черьнорисци [x]. и совокупи братьи [62] числомъ. . р̄. и нача искати [63] правила чернечьскаго [x]. и wбрѣтеса тогда [e] Михаилъ. чернѣць. манастыра Студискаго [64]. иже бѣ пришелъ изь Грѣкь. с митрополитомъ Георгиемь. и нача оу него искати [63] оустава черь‖нець [66] Студиискы̄ и wбрѣтъ оу него. исписа. и оустави въ манастыри своємъ. како пѣти пѣнига. манастырьскаа [67] и поклонъ [68] како держати. и чтениа почитати. и стоание [69] въ цр̄кви и весь радъ цр̄квьныи. на трапезѣ сѣданиє [1]. и что пасти. въ кыа дни все съ въставлениє [2] Федосии [3]. все то приwбрѣть [4]. и [5] предасть манастырю своєму. w̄ негоже манастыра приаша вси манастыри [6] оуставъ по всемь [7] манастыремь. тѣм же почтенъ [8] єсть манастырь [a] Печерьскыи. старѣи всихъ [9]. и чтью боле всихъ [10]. Федосьєви [11] же живущю в манастырѣ [12]. и правящю добродѣтелноє житье. и чернѣцьскоє правило. и приимающе [13] всакого приходащего к нему [6] к нему же и азъ придохъ [14]. худыи и недостоинъ [15] рабъ [16]. приать ма лѣтъ [a] ми сущю. ā. . w̄ рожениа моєго. се же. написахъ и положихъ. и в коє лѣ̄ почалъ быти манастырь. і что ради зоветьса Печерьскыи манастырь [17]. а w Федосьєвѣ [18] житьи паки скажемь.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Нестора[a], мниха обители манастыря Печерьскаго, сказаніе что ради прозвася Печерьскый манастырь. Слово 7[1].

Въ княженіе самодръжца Рускыя земля, *благовѣрнаго* великаго князя Владимера Святославича, *благоволи Богъ* явити свѣтилника Рустѣй земли и настаѣника иночьствующим, (23 б.) яже о немь нам сказаніе. Бысть убо нѣкый *благочестивый* муж от града Любеча[2], яже въ нь измлада вселися страх *божій*, желаше же[3] въ иноческый облещися образъ[*]. *Человѣколюбивый* же *Господь* възложи сему[4] ити въ страну Гречьскую и тамо острыщися[**]. Абіе путьному шествію устремився, странствуа за страньствовавшего *Господа* и тружьшагося нашего ради спасенія, и достиже царствующаго града. И въ *святую* гору донде и обьшед *святаа* монастыря, яже на Афонѣ[5], и видѣ монастыря, сущаа ту па *Святѣи* Горѣ, и пребываніе тѣх отець выше *человѣчьскаго естества*, въ плоти житие[6] аггельское подражающе, паче ражьжеся *христовою* любовію, жалаа[7] тѣх отець житию поревновати. Пріиде[8] въ единь манастырь от сущих тамо манастыревъ и моли игумена, дабы на нь възложилъ аггельскый образь иночьскаго чина[***]. Игумень же, прозря яже в нем хотящаа быти добродѣтели, послушавъ, постриже его и нарече имя ему Антоніе, наказавь[9] и научи его (24) иночьскому житію. Антоній же въ всемь[10] *Богу* угаждаа, на прочаа подвизаася въ покореніи же и въ послушаніи, яко всѣм радоватися о нем. Рече же ему игумень: „Антоніе, или пакы въ Русію, да тамо прочіим на успѣх и утвръжденіе будеши, будп ти *благословеніе Святыя Горы*“. Антоній же пріиде[11] въ град Кневъ, мысляше, где пребыти. И походи по манастырем и не възлюби ни въ едином же где бы жителъствовати: Богу не волящу. И нача ходити по дебрем и по горам и по всѣм мѣстом, и на Берестово приинде и обрѣтъ печеру, и вселися въ ню, юже бѣша[12] ископали Варязи, и в неи пребысть въ великцѣм въздръжаніи[****]. По сих же преставлъшуся великому[13] князю Владимеру, и пріа власть безбожный окаанный[14] Святополкъ, и сѣде въ Кіевѣ, нача избивати братію свою, и уби *святого* Бориса[a] и Глѣба[*****]. Антоній же, видя[15] таково кровопролитіе, иже съдѣа[16] окаанный Святополкъ, пакы бѣжа въ *Святую* Гору. Егда же *благочестивый* князь Ярославь побѣди Святоплъка, (24 б.) и сѣде въ Киевѣ[******]. Боголюбивому[17] же[18] князю Ярославу любящу Берестово[18]

а) *в рукоп. вгдолгоек циноброю.* б) *в рукоп. списано на берегах.* в) *в рукоп.* бирися.

[1] Т: „Слово о томъ, отчего прозвася Печерьскій монастырь“. [2] яко(ичи ДС. [3] *в інш. списк. немае.* [4] ему РДС. [5] на сердце яти РДС. [6] офонѣ РДС. [7] *в інш. списк.* желаа. [8] и пріиде РДС. [9] и наказавъ С. [10] всѣх І. [11] отъиде въ русію и пріиде РДСІ. [12] бѣ РД; бяше С. [13] *немае* РД. [14] *немае* С. [15] видѣ РДС. [16] съдѣла С. [17] *вѣдси* почин. НТ. [18] *в інш. сп. немае.* [19] бѣростовъ І.

[*] *Див. у примітк.:* 18. [**] *Див. у примітк.:* 19. [***] *Див. у примітк.:* 20. [****] *Див. у примітк.:* 21. [*****] *Див. у примітк.:* 22. [******] *Див. у примітк.:* 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

и церковь[1] святых апостолъ, священникы[2] многы наблящу. В нем[3] же бѣ презвитерь именемь Иларіонъ[4], мужь благочестивь[5], божественным писаніем разумень[5] и постникъ. И хожаше съ Берестова на Днѣпръ, на хлъмъ, где[6] нынѣ ветхый манастырь Печерьскый, и ту молитвы[7] творяше, бѣ бо тамо[8] лѣсь великь, и ископа[9] ту печерку малу дву саждень и, приходя[10] с Берестова, псалмопѣніе[11] пояше[11], моляшеся Богу въ тайнѣ. По семь же благоволи[12] Богъ въложити[13] на сердце благовѣрному[14] великому князю Ярославу[14], и събравъ епископы, в[15] лѣто 6559[15], и поставиша[16] его митрополитом въ[17] святѣй Софіи, а сіи его[16] печерка оста[16]. Антоній же сущу въ Святѣй Горѣ, въ манастыри, идѣже острыжеся, и бысть отъ Бога въявѣщеніе игумену. „Пусти, рече, Антонія въ Русію, яко требую его". Призвав же его и рече ему: „Антоніе, иди паки[20] въ Русію[21], Богу[22] тако хотящу[23], и буди благословеніе от[23] Святыя Горы, яко[24] мнози от[25] тебе имуть (25) черноризци быти". Благословивъ его, отпусти[a] и[26], рекъ[27] ему: „иди съ миром[27a]". Антонію[26] же пришедшу къ Кіеву[28], и прииде на хлъмь, идѣже бѣ Иларион печерку ископаль[29] малу[30], и въалюби мѣсто[31] то, и вселися в нем. И нача молитися Богу съ слезами глаголя: „Господи, утвърди мя въ мѣсте[32] сем и да будеть благословеніе на мѣстѣ[32] семъ Святыя Горы и молитва[34] моего отца[35], иже мя постриглъ". И нача[36] жити ту, моля Бога. Ядъ[37] же его бѣ хлѣбь сух[37] и воды въ мѣру въкушаа, и копаше[38] печеру и не даяше[39] собѣ покоя въ[40] дьне и в ноши[40], въ трудѣх[41] же пребывая, въ бдѣніих[42] и въ[6] молитвах. По сем же увѣдаша[43] его людіе[44], прихождааху[45] къ нему, приносяще яже[46] на потрѣбу. И прослу якоже[47] и[47] Великый Антоній[b], и приходяще к нему, прошаху[48] от него благословенія. По сем же, преставльшуся великому князю Ярославу, пріять власть сынъ его Изяславъ[b] и сѣде в Кіевѣ[bb]. Антоній же прославлень бысть въ Рустѣи земли. Князь[49] же Изяславъ, увѣдавъ (25 б.) житіе его, пріиде к[50] нему[50] съ дружиною своею, прося у[51] него благословенія и молитвы. И увѣдань бысть всѣми великый Антоній и почитаем всѣми. И начаша приходити к нему постьщися[52] боголюбивіи нѣціи[53], он же

---

a) *в рукоп.* отпу отпусти. б) *в рукоп. над рядком.* в) *Далі в рукоп. було* „увѣдавъ житіе его".

[1] ту сущю *доб.* Т. [2] попы НТ. [3] нем РДС; них НТ. [4] *в інш. сп.* ларіонъ. [5-5] благъ в нимежъ НТ. [6] идеже Т. [7] *в інш. спис.* молитву. [8] ту НТ. [9] собѣ *доб.* И. [10] хожаше Т. [11,11] отпѣваше часы и НТ. [12] *немає* Т. [13] вложи Т; богъ князю вложи К. [14] *немає* НТ. [15,15] *немає* Т. [16] постави К; поставити Т. [17] *немає* Т. [18] *немає* НТ. [19] тако оста НТ. [20] опять Т. [21] русь Т. [22,22] *немає* Т. [23] имѣа РДСК. [24] и рече ему, яко Т. [25] а Т. [26] *пром.* Т. [27,27] *немає* Т. [27a,28] антоній приде киеву Т. [29] ископа Р. [30] *пром.* Т. [31] мѣстьце НТ. [32] мѣстьцѣ НТ. [33] мѣстьцѣ НТ. [34] *немає* Т. [35] игумена НТ. [36] поча Т. [37,37] ядый хлѣбъ сухой и то же (того) чресъ день НТ. [38] копая Т. [39] не дадый Т; не дасть И. [40,40] ни день, ни ночь Т. [41] трудѣ Р. [42] бдѣнии Т. [43] увѣдавши РДС; увѣдѣвше Т. [44] добрии человѣци Т. [45] начаша приходити Т. [46] ему иже Т. [47] *пром.* Т. [48] просяще РДС. [49] *пром.* Т. [50] *пром.* Т. [51] от Т. [52,52] *пром.* Т; людие И.

[b] *Див. у примітк.:* 24. [bb] *Див. у примітк.:* 25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

пріимаше их и пострыжаше. И събрася[1] братіи к нему числомъ[2] 12. К[3] нему ж и Ѳеодосіе пришед и пострижеся[4]. И ископаша печеру велику, и церковь, и келіа, яже суть и до сего дьни въ печерѣ под ветхым монастыремь[a]. Съвъкупленнѣи же братьи сущи[5], и рече имъ великый Антоніе: „се Богъ насъ, братіе[6], съвъкупиль, и от благословеніа есте[7] Святыя Горы, им же мене игумень постриже Святыя Горы, азъ же васъ постригох[8], и буди[9] благословеніе на васъ пръвіе от Бога и[10] пречистыя[10] Богородица[9], второе отъ Святыя Горы". И[11] рече имъ сице[11]: „живите себѣ[12], и азь поставлю вам игумена, а самъ хощу въ[13] ону гору ити и тамо сѣсти[13] единъ". Якоже и прежде[14] рѣх[15], обыклъ уединився. И поставиша им игумена именем Варлаама[**], а сам иде въ гору, ископа печеру, яже есть под новым манастырем, и в нем (26) сконча животъ свой, живъ[16] въ добродѣтели лѣть 40, не исходя[17] ис печеры[18], въ нем же лежать честныя[19] мощи его, [20]чюдеса[a] творяще[20] и до сего дьне[***]. Игумень же и братіа живяху въ печерѣ. И умножившимся[21] братіи и не могущим въ печеру[22] въмѣстити, помыслиша вънѣ печеры поставити манастырь. И пріиде игумень и братіа къ святому[23] Антонію и рекоша ему: „отче! умножилося есть[24] братіи и не можем[25] въмѣститися въ печерѣ, дабы[26] Богъ повелѣль[27] и пречистая[26] Богородица[29] и твоя молитва, да быхом поставили церковицю[30] внѣ печеры". И повелѣ имъ преподобный[31]. Они же поклонишася ему до[32] земля и отъидоша[33]. И поставиша церковицю малу над печерою въ имя святыя Богородица успѣніе. И нача Богъ умножати чрънориза[34] молитвами пречистыя[34] Богородица и[35] преподобнаго Антоніа[35], и съвѣть сътвориша братіа съ игуменомь поставити манастырь. И идоша паки[36] къ Антонію и рѣша ему[37]: „отче! братіи[38] умножаеться[39] и хотѣли быхом поставити манастырь". (26 б.) Антоній же рад бывь и рече[40]: „благословень Богъ о всемь, и молитва святыа Богородица и сущихъ отець, иже[41] въ Святѣи Горѣ[41], да будеть с вами". И сіа рекъ, посла единаго отъ братія къ князю Ияславу, рекь[42] тако[42]: „княже благочестивый[43], Богъ[44] умножаеть братію, и мѣстьце мало, просим[45] у тебе[45], дабы еси нам дал[46] гору ту[46], иже[47] над печерою". Князь[48] же Ияславь, сіа слышавъ, зѣло

а) *в рукоп. над рядком іншим. штрихом списано* „многа". б) *в рукоп. списано на берегах.*

[1] собрашася Т. [2] яко числомъ РДСИ. [3-3] *немае* КТ. [4] бышти К; *немае* Т. [5] *немае* Т. [6] *немае* Т. [7] постригаъ Т. [8] да буди Т. [9-9] *немае* Т. [10] *иншим. спис.* пресвятыа. [11-11] се рекъ, глаголя имъ Т. [12] же особѣ Т. [13-13] въ своей горѣ сѣсти Т. [14] *немае* Т. [15] бѣхъ К; бихъ Т. [16] пожив РДС. [17] выходя Т. [18] никогда же нигдѣ *бод.* РДС; николи же никаме же КТ. [19] *немае* КТ. [20] *немае* КТ. [21] умножашеся Т. [22] *немае* Т. [23] *немае* Т. [24] не можеѣ Т. [25] да Т. [26] повелить Т. [29] пресвятая РДС. [30] *немае* Т. [31] церковь С. [32] антоній *бод.* Т. [33-33] *немае* Т. [34] черьиця Т. [34] святыя КТ; пресвятыя РДС. [35-35] *немае* Т. [36] братія Т. [37] *немае* Т. [38] братія Т. [39] умножаются Т. [40] имъ *бод.* К. [41-41] святыхъ въ печерѣ Т. [42-42] глаголя Т. [43] мой Т; господине К. [44] се богъ Т. [45-45] *немае* КТ. [46] *немае* Т. [47] яже К; яже есть Т. [48] *немае* Т.

[a] *Див. в примітк.:* 26. [**] *Див. в примітк.:* 27. [***] *Див. в примітк.:* 28.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

радостень[1] бысть, и посла к ним болярина своего[2], дасть[3] имъ гору ту. Игуменъ же и братія заложиша церковь велику и манастырь, оградиша стлъпіемь и келіа поставиша многы, и церковь поставиша[4] и украсиша иконами. И оттолѣ начашеся[5] звати[6] Печерьскый манастырь, понеже[7] бѣаху жили[7] чръноризци[8] прежде[8] въ печерѣ. И оттолѣ[9] прозвася Печерьскый манастырь, иже[10] есть[10] от благословенія Святыя Горы[11]. Манастыру же съвръшену, игуменьство дръжащу Варлааму, князь[12] же Изяславь постави манастырь святого Дмитреа и выведе[14] Варлаама на[14] игуменьство[15] къ святому Дмитрею, хотя сътворити (27) свой[16] манастырь выше Печерьскаго[16] манастыря, надѣася на богатьство*. Мнози бо манастыреве от царь[17] и отъ болярь и отъ богатьства поставленіи, но не суть таковіи[18], яковіи[19] же суть поставленіи слезами и пощеніем, молитвою и бдѣніем. Антоній не имѣ злата[20] и сребра, но стяжа слезами и пощеніем, а[21] якоже[22] глаголаах[22]. Варлааму отшедшю[23] къ святому Дмитрею, и совѣт сътворьше[24], братія идоша къ старцю[25] Антонію и глаголаста ему: „отче[26], постави нам игумена“. Он же рече имъ[27]: „кого хощете?“ Они же глаголаста ему: „кого хощеть Богъ и[28] пречистая Богородица[28] и ты, честный[29] отче[29]“. И[30] рече имь великый Антоніе[30]: „кто[31] таковь[5] есть въ васъ, якоже есть блаженный Ѳеодосіе[31], послушливый, кротный и смиренный сый[31]? Да[32] будет вам игуменъ“. Братіа же вси[34], ради бывше, поклонишеся ему[35] до[36] земля[36], и поставиша Ѳеодосіа игуменом. Сущи[37] братіи тогда[37] числомь 20. Ѳеодосію пріимшу[38] манастырь, нача имѣти въздръжаніе велико, пощеніе и молитвы съ слезами. И съвъкупляти начать[39] (27 б.) многы чръноризца, и[40] съвъкупи въсѣх братіи[40] числом 100. И нача въискати[41] правила черничьскаго, и обрѣтеся тогда честный[42] инокь[42] Михаиль[42], монастыря Студийскаго, иже бѣ пришелъ из Грекь съ митрополитом Георгіем. И нача его[44] въпрошати о уставѣ[44] отець[45] Студийскых[46], и обрѣте у него, исписа[44]. И устави въ манастыри своем, како[47] пѣти пѣніа манастырьскаа и поклоны како[48] дръжати, и чтеніа почитати, и стоаніе въ церкви, и все[49] уряжденіе церковное[49],

---

а) *в рукоп. на берегах.* б) *в рукоп.* наколь.

[1] радъ НТ. [2] мужь свои Т. [3] и ида Т; и дасть К. [4] сверьшиша Т. [5] нача РТ; начаша К; начася А. [6] зватися ТР. [7.7] яже быша были Т. [8] черньци НТ. [9] оттого НТ. [10.10] пошолъ Т; есть же монастырь сій печерьскый К. [11] пошелъ *вод.* К. [12] *немае* Т. [14] изведе Т. [14] *немае* Т. [15] игуменьству Т. [16.16] и старей сего быти Т. [17] царя РДС. [18] тако К; таци Т. [19] яци Т. [20] ни злата К. [21] *немае* РДСТ. [22.22] *немае* Т. [23] же шедшю Т. [24] сътворивше РДС; сотвориша К. [25] игумену Т. [26] *немае* Т. [27] *в іншм. списк. немае.* [28.28] *немае* Т. [29] *немае* Т. [30] онъ же рече имъ Т. [31.31] кто болій у васъ, акій же ѳеодосій Т; кто болій есть в вас, яков же есть великый ѳеодосіе К. [32] *немае* НТ. [32] да сій Т; сьй да К. [34] *немае* Т. [35] старцю Т. [36] *немае* Т. [37.37] братіи же Т. [38] ѳеодосій же пріемъ Т. [39] совокупи Т. [40] *немае* Т. [41] искати НТ. [42] *немае* ТК. [42] михайло черець Т; михаилъ старець К. [44.44] у него искати устава К; у него искати правила устава черничьскаго Т. [45] старець К. [46] отець студийскых *немае* Т. [47] *немае* Т. [48] *немае* Т. [49.49] весь рядъ церковный НТ.

* *Див. в примітк.*: 29. ** *Див. в примітк.*: 30.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

и на трапезѣ сѣданіе, и что ядѣніе[1] в кыя дьни, все съ[2] уставленіем[3]. Ѳеодосій .тъи[3] нъзобрѣтъ, предастъ манасꙗыру своему, от тогожде манастыря прияша вси манастыреви Рустіи[4] уставъ. Тѣм же почтенъ бысть[5] манастырь Печерьскый, иже[6] пръвіе[7] всѣх и[8] честью выше[9] всѣх[9]. Ѳеодосію же живущу въ манастыри и правящу добродѣтельное житіе и иночьское[10] правило, и примающу всякого приходящаго к нему, прииде[x] же и азъ к нему, (28) худый и недостойный азъ рабь Несторъ[11], и приять[12] мя, тогда[13] лѣтъ ми сущу 17 от рожденіа моего[*]. Се же написах и положих, иже[14] в кое лѣто начатъ[15] быти манастырь и что ради и зоветься Печерьскый[16]. А[17] о Ѳеодосіевѣ житіи паки скажем[17]**.

Мѣсяца[a] Мая въ 3 день житіе преподобнаго отца нашего Ѳеодосіа[б], игумена Печерьскаго манастыря. Списанно Нестором, мнихом того же Печерьскаго манастыря. Слово 8[18].

Благодарю тя, Господи, владыко мой, Іисусе Христе, яко сподобиль мя еси недостоꙗнаго сповѣдателя[19] быти святым твоим угодником. Се бо исперва списавшу[20] ми о житіи и убіеніи и о чюдесѣх святою[21] и блаженою[22] страстотръпцю[23] Бориса и Глѣба, понудихся и на второе[24] исповѣданіе[25] пріити***. Еже и выше[26] моея силы, ему же и не бѣх достоинь, грубь сыи и неразумичень, к сим же яко и не бѣх учень никоеждо хитрости, но въспомянух, Господи, слово твое, рекшее: „аще имате вѣру яко зерно синапно[27], и рещете горѣ сеи: преиди и верзися въ море, (28 б.) и абіе не[28] усумнится, но[29] послушаеть вас"****. Сіе на умѣ и[30] азъ грѣшный Несторь[31] приим[32] и ограждився вѣрою и упованіемъ, яко вся възможная от тебе суть, начатокь слову списаніа положих, еже о житіи преподобнаго отца нашего Ѳеодосіа, бывшаго игумена манастыря Печерьскаго[33] святыа владычица нашея Богородица[34], архимандрита[35] всея Русіи и начальника[36]. Се же[36], о братіе[8], въспоминающу[37] ми[38] о[39] житіи[40]

а) *в рукоп. заголовок цинобрью.* б) *в рукоп. вписано на берегах.* в) *в рукоп.* братіи.

[1] ясти НТ. [2.2] устави Т; съ уставленіи С. [3] сіе то РДС; же все то К; *нѣмаѳ* Т. [4] *нѣмаѳ* Т. [5] есть РДС; [6] *нѣмаѳ* Т. [7] старѣи НТ. [8] боли К. [9.9] *нѣмаѳ* Т. [10] черноческое НТ. [11] нестеръ РДС; *нѣмаѳ* НТ. [12] приимъ Т. [13] *нѣмаѳ* НТ. [14] *нѣмаѳ* Т. [15] почалъ НТ; началъ РДС. [16] печерьскыи манастырь Т. [17.17] тогда лѣто 6559 Т. [18] А: „Мѣсяце мая въ 3 день житіе святаго и преподобнаго отьца нашего, игумена Печерьскаго Ѳеодосья, Господи благослови отьче"; Списанно... слово 8 *нѣмаѳ* У. [19] исповѣдателя РД. [20] писавъшю У; исписавшю РДС. [21] святыхъ РДС. [22] блаженныхъ РДС. [23] страстотерпець РДС. [24] другое У. [25] споведаніе К. [26] выше и выше А. [27] горущьно У. [28.28] *нѣмаѳ* УА. [29] си У. [30] *нѣмаѳ* У. [31] нестерпѣвъ А. [32] приях С. [33] сего печерьскаго А; сего У. [34] его же и дьнь успеніе нынѣ празднующе, память творимъ *бод.* У. [35.35] *нѣмаѳ* У. [36] се же яко же А. [37] въспоминающи РД. [38] ми РД. [39] *нѣмаѳ* У. [40] житіе У.

* *Див. в примітк.:* 31. ** *Див. в примітк.:* 32 *** *Див. в примітк.:* 33. **** *Мат.* XVII, 20.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

О взыскании честных мощей великого чюдотворца Никиты. Некогда слышахом повесть дивну и памяти достойну от честнаго старца честный монастырь о взыскании мощем преподобнаго Никиты столпника переаславскаго чюдотворца якоже в мимошедшия дни жившими в монастыри у преподобнаго Никиты иде же многочюдесныя и честныя мощи его почиваху. И слышах от прежде бывшаго му игумена именем Ионы яко же слышахом рече от древних некиих мужей самовидец о бывшем чюдеси преподобнаго Никиты яко в некое время случися быти во граде переаславле преосвященному фотию митрополиту всеа России внят митрополит сии хотя ведети мощи преподобнаго отца нашего Никиты яко же сокровенным им под землею и не быть взыскания о них. Исполнися архиерей желания дабы выкопати мощи преподобнаго и видети их. И тяжкости помышляше но паче на желание свое устремися и молебная пения сотворив повем копати землю иде же бяху мощи преподобнаго Никиты. И по благословению свтльскому нача людие со усердием копати и быть копающим радостию надеяхуся некрадомо сокровище обрести. И друг пред другом копающим дабы прежде прокопал кто над мощим яко бывает множеству народу ждуще царя издалеча пути грядуща к себе и устремляхуся людие друг пред другом дабы прежде поклонилися царю и честь восприяли вящеие дрогов своих от царя тако итии. Людие тщахуся друг пред другом обрести честныя мощи и благословение получити тружающиижеся им и копающим и божиим благоволением и преподобнаго Никиты молитвами не погреши архиерей своея надежи. И докопавшеся

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

людие близ мощей преподобнаго отца Никиты столпника переаславскаго чюдотворца и обретоша их яко злато в горниле и светящася лепотою яко солнце неукрашением бо гроба сияют в место бо гроба многострадалное сего преподобнаго тело берестом оберчено сияние бе многими чюдесы и различными исцелении. Сия же видевше людие и прославиша бога. О велие чюдо, братие, яко таков светилник яви от многих лет сокровен в земли и явишася нетленны честныя его мощи еще же и в поледнее время се изволи явитися на удивление чюдеси, на извещение будущему роду. Но не восхоте преподобный верху земли быти, но не токмо презре моления архиерейска, некии же болярин иже от велмож двора архирейска стлва пришедый в монастырь со святейшим митрополитом любезно припадающе к мощем преподобнаго хотя взяти малу часть от береста им же бе обвито преподобный во гроба. Место умилно я: "о преподобниче стче божий; никто да иже ми от сего береста им же многострадалное тело твое обвито на благословение мне и дому моему, его же хощу имети паче многоценнаго бисера." И в том час бысть буря велика зело и иже бяху людие около мощей преподобнаго иде же копаша, инии же людие ту под церковию и за церковию зряху. Великая та буря и зринув всех вонь не токмо из места того иде же копахуно и внешних стоящих далече отринуша, и место о себе засыпася еже копаху и устроися место то равно яко же бе и прежде. Мнози же от труда того падоша и болезнию одержими быша, и ини же от нечаянна страха ума отступише. О них же архиерей и вси

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

людие помолишася человеколюбцу Богу и преподобному Никите и глаголаше: "О преподобне оче, не прогневайся на нас и на людии сия прикоснувшияся честным твоим мощем, и исцели их от належащих сих болезнеи, да прославят Христа Бога нашего и Тебе благодарныя песни возсылаем". И абие исцелешавси у гроба преподобнаго Никиты, и прославиша Бога давшаго толику благодать своим угодником.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bibliography

1. Sources and Descriptions of Sources

Abramovič, D. I., Opisanie rukopisej S. Peterburgskoj duxovnoj akademii. Sofijskaja biblioteka (SPb., 1905-1910).

Amfiloxij, Archimandrite, "Opisanie ruskopisej voskresenskogo stavropigial'nogo monastyrja pisannyx na pergamine i bumage", Imperatorskaja akademija nauk, 2. otdelenie, Izvestija 7 (1858): 257-288; 8 (1859-1860): 89-112, 186-212.

Baar, A. M. van den, A Russian Church Slavonic Kanonik (1331-1332) (den Haag and Paris, 1968).

Belčikov, F. F., Begunov, Ju. K., and Roždestvenskij, N. P., Spravočnik-ukazatel' pečatnyx opisanij slavjano-russkix rukopisej (M.-L., 1963).

Biblioteka moskovskoj sinodal'noj tipografii (M., 1896-1912).

Biljarskij, P.S., "Sostav i mesjacoslov mstislavova spiska evangelija", Imperatorskaja akademija nauk, 2. otdelenie, Izvestija 10 (1861): 110-137.

Bugge, Arne, Contacarium palaeoslavicum mosquense (Copenhagen, 1960).

Dmitriev, L. A., Žitijnye povesti russkogo severa kak pamjatniki literatury XIII-XVII vv. (L., 1973).

Dobrjanskij, N. F., Opisanie rukopisej Vilenskoj publičnoj biblioteki, cerkovnoslavjanskix i russkix (Vilnius, 1882).

Dostál, A. and Rothe, H., Der altrussische Kondakar' auf der Grundlage des blagoveščenskij nižegorodskoj Kondakar' (Giessen, 1976-).

Gorskij, A. V. and Nevostruev, K. I., Opisanie slavjanskix rukopisej moskovskoj sinodal'noj biblioteki (M., 1855-1917).

Granstrem, E. E. and Lixačev, D. S., eds., Opisanie russkix i slavjanskix pergamennyx rukopisej gos. publičnoj biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Ščedrina (L., 1953).

Ilarij, Ieromonax, and Arsenij, Ieromonax, "Opisanie slavjanskix rukopisej biblioteki svjato-troicko sergievoj lavry", ČOIDR 1878, kniga 2: 1-352; kniga 4: 1-204; 1879, kniga 1-267 + 1-44.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jacimirskij, A. I., "Melkie teksty i zametki po starinnoj južnoslavjanskoj i russkoj literaturam", IORJaS 21 (1916) No. 1: 192-261; No. 2: 65-122.

_____, Opis starinnyx slavjanskix i russkix rukopisej sobranija P. I. Ščukina (M., 1896-1897).

_____, "Opisanie južnoslavjanskix i russkix rukopisej zagraničnyx bibliotek", Sbornik ORJaS 98 (1921).

Kuprijanov, I. K., "Obozrenie pergamennyx rukopisej novgorodskoj sofijskoj biblioteki", Imperatorskaja akademija nauk, 2. otdelenie, Izvestija 6 (1857) vyp. 1: 34-66; vyp. 4: 276-320.

Lamanskij, V. I., "O nekotoryx slavjanskix rukopisjax v Belgrade, Zagrebe i Vene s filologičeskimi i istoričeskimi primečanijami", Imperatorskaja akademija nauk, Zapiski 6 (1864), priloženie 1: 1-167.

Lavrovskij, P. A., "Opisanie semi rukopisej imperatorskoj S. Peterburgskoj publičnoj biblioteki", ČOIDR 1858, kniga 4: 1-90.

Leonid, Archimandrite, Sistematičeskoe opisanie slavjano-russkix rukopisej sobranija grafa A. S. Uvarova (M., 1893-1894).

Leonid, Archimandrite, "Slavjanskie rukopisi xranjaščixsja v riznice svjato-troickoj sergievoj lavry", ČOIDR 1880, kniga 4: 1-41.

Martinov, Joannis, "Annus ecclesiasticus Graeco-Slavicus", Acta Sanctorum October 11 (Paris and Rome, 1870): 1-388.

Matić, Svetozar, Opis rukopisa narodne biblioteke (Belgrade, 1952).

Mošin, V. O., Ćirilski rukopisi jugoslavenske akademije (Zagreb, 1952-1955).

_____, Opis južnoslovenskix kirilskix rukopisa (Belgrade, 1971).

Nikol'skij, N. K., Materialy dlja povremennogo spiska russkix pisatelej i ix sočinenii (X-XI vv.)(SPb., 1906).

Opisanie rukopisej soloveckogo monastyrja, naxodjaščixsja v biblioteke kazanskoj duxovnoj akademii, compiled by I. Ja. Porfir'ev, et al. (Kazan', 1881-1898).

Orlov, A. S., "Žitie sv. Arkadija, episkopa novgorodskogo, v spiske vtoroj poloviny XIV veka", ČOIDR 1899, kniga 3: 1-16.

Pergamennye rukopisi biblioteki AN SSSR; opisanie russkix i slavjanskix rukopisej XI-XVI vekov, compiled by N. Ju. Bubnov, et al. (L., 1976).

Popov, A., Opisanie rukopisej i katalog knig cerkovnoj pečati biblioteki A. I. Xludova (M., 1872).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Prostas'eva, T. N., compiler, Opisanie rukopisej sinodal'nogo sobranija, ne vošedšix v opisanie A. V. Gorskogo i K. I. Nevostrueva (M., 1970-1973).

Ščepkina, M. V., Protas'eva, T. N., et al., "Opisanie pergamentnyx rukopisej gos. istoričeskogo muzeja", AE za 1964: 135-234; AE za 1965: 273-309.

Serebrjanskij, N. I., "Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žitija; obzor redakcij i teksty" ČOIDR 1915, kniga 3: 1-295 + 1-186.

Snegirev, I. M., Pamjatniki moskovskoj drevnosti (M., 1842-1845).

Stojanov, Man'o, and Kodov, Xristo, Opis na slavjanskite rukopisi v sofijskata narodna biblioteka (Sofia, 1910-1971).

Speranskij, M. N., Iz istorii russko-južnoslavjanskix literaturnyx svjazej; sbornik statej (M., 1960).

_____, "Slavjanskaja pis'mennost' na Sinae i v Palestine" IORJaS 32 (1927): 43-118.

Šumilov, V. N. and Tixomirov, M. N., eds., Obzor dokumental'nyx materialov CGADA po istorii SSSR perioda feodalizma XI-XVI vv. (M., 1954).

Uspenskij sbornik XII-XIII vv., ed. by S. I. Kotkov (M., 1971).

Vostokov, A. E., Opisanie russkix i slovenskix rukopisej rumjancovskogo muzeuma (SPb., 1842).

2. Selected Secondary Works

Abramovič, D. I., "Issledovanie o Kievo-pečerskom paterike kak istoriko-literaturnom pamjatnike", IORJaS 6 (1901), kniga 3: 207-235; kniga 4: 37-102; 7 (1902), kniga 1: 233-279; kniga 2: 204-231; kniga 3: 34-76; kniga 4: 43-65.

_____, "K voprosu ob istočnikax Nesterova žitija prep. Feodosija pečerskogo", IORJaS 3 (1898) kniga 1: 243-246.

_____, ed., Kievo-pečerskij paterik (Kiev, 1930; reprinted Munich, 1964).

Bernadskij, V. N., Novgorod i novgorodskaja zemlja v XV veke, (M.-L., 1961).

Borzakovskij, V. S., Istorija tverskogo knjažestva (SPb., 1876).

Bubner, Friedrich, Das Kiever Paterikon; eine Untersuchung zu seiner Struktur und den literarischen Quellen (Augsburg, 1969).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bugoslavskij, S. A., "K literaturnoj istorii 'Pamjati i poxvaly' knjazju Vladimiru", IORJaS 29 (1924), kniga 106-159.

_____, "K voprosu o xaraktere i ob"eme literaturnoj dejatel'nosti prep. Nestora", IORJaS 19 (1914) kniga 1: 131-186; kniga 3: 153-191.

_____, "Literaturnaja tradicija v severovostočnoj russkoj agiografii", in Sbornik statej v čest' akademika A. I. Sobolevskogo (L., 1928): 332-336.

Čagovec, V. A., "Žizn' i socinenija prep. Theodosija", Kiev, Universitetskie izvestija 41 (1901) No. 6: 1-70; No. 8: 71-121; Nc. 10: 123-149; No. 12: 151-222.

Čiževskij, Dmitrij, "Anklaenge an die Gumpoldslegende des hl. Vaclav in der altrussischen Legende des hl. Feodosij und das Problem der 'Originalitaet' der slavischen mittelalterlichen Werke", Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch 1 (1950): 71-86.

_____, Geschichte der altrussischen Literatur im 11., 12. und 13. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt/M., 1948).

_____, "On the Question of Genres in Old Russian Literature", Harvard Slavic Studies 2 (1954): 105-115.

_____, "Studien zur russischen Hagiographie; die Erzaehlung vom hl. Isaakij", Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch 2 (1952): 22-49.

_____, "Zur Stilistik der altrussischen Literatur; Topik", Festschrift fuer Max Vasmer (Berlin, 1956): 105-112.

Cross, S. H. and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, O. P., The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian Text (Cambridge, MA, 1953).

Dmitriev, L. A., "Rol' i značenie mitropolita Kipriana v drevnerusskoj literature", TODRL 19 (1963): 215-254.

Dooley, Eugene A., Church Law on Sacred Relics (Washington, D.C., 1931).

Dvornik, Francis, "Byzantine Political Ideas in Kievan Russia", Dumbarton Oaks Papers 9-10 (1956): 71-121.

Eremin, I. P., "Iz istorii drevnerusskoj publicistike XI veka; poslanie Feodosija pečerskogo k knjazju Izjaslavu Jaroslaviču o latinjanax", TODRL 2 (1935): 21-38.

_____, "K xarakteristike Nestora kak pisatelja", TODRL 17 (1961): 54-64.

_____, Literatura drevnej Rusi' etjudy i xarakteristiki (M.-L., 1966).

_____, "Literaturnoe nasledie Feodosija pečerskogo", TODRL 5 (1947): 159-184.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fedotov, Georgij P., The Russian Religious Mind (Cambridge, MA, 1946-1966).

Golubinskij, E. E., Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx russkoj cerkvi, (M., 1903).

_____, Istorija russkoj cerkvi (M., 1901-1911).

Gudzij, N. K., "O sočinenijax Feodosija pečerskogo", Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskix stran; sbornik statej k 70-letiju akademika M. N. Tixomirova (M., 1963): 62-66.

Heppel, Muriel, "The Origins of the Church of the Kievan Monastery of the Caves", Novy Sad, Universitet, Filosofskog Fakultet, Godišnik 2 (1957): 231-238.

_____, "The 'Vita Antonii', a Lost Source of the 'Paterikon of the Monastery of the Caves'", Byzantinoslavica 13 (1952-1953): 46-58.

"Istorija žanrov v russkoj literature X-XVII vv.", TODRL 27 (1972).

Jablonskij, V., Paxomij Serb i ego agiografičeskie pisanija (SPb., 1908).

Janin, V. L., "Russkaja knjaginja Olisava-Gertruda i ee syn Jaropolk", Numizmatika i epigrafika 4 (1963): 142-164.

Kadlubovskij, A. P., "Očerki po istorii drevne-russkoj literatury žitii svjatyx", Russkij filologičeskij vestnik 37 (1897): 117-159; 39 (1898): 96-159; 40 (1898): 176-192; 45 (1901): 35-70; 46 (1901): 5-128; 47 (1902): 1-102.

Ključevskij, V. O., Drevnerusskie žitija svjatyx kak istoričeskij istočnik (M., 1871).

Kuz'min, A. G., Načal'nye drevnerusskogo letopisanija (M., 1977).

Litavrin, G. G., "Osobennosti russko-vizantijskix otnošenij v XII v.", in Pol'ša i Rus', ed. by B. A. Rybakov (M., 1974): 208-212.

_____, "Rus' i Vizantija v XII veke", Voprosy istorii 1972, No. 7: 36-52.

_____, "Vojna Rusi protiv Vizantii v 1043 g.", in Issledovanija po istorii slavjanskix i balkanskix narodov (M., 1972): 178-222.

Lixačev, D. S., Kul'tura Rusi vremeni Andreja Rubleva i Epifanija Premudrogo (konec XIV-načalo XV v.) (m.-L., 1962).

_____, Poetika drevnerusskoj literatury, 2nd ed. (L., 1971).

_____, Razvitie russkoj literatury X-XVII vekov; epoxi i stili (L., 1973).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_____, Russkie letopisi i ix kul'turno-istoričeskoe značenie (M., 1947).

Luk'janenko, A. M., "O jazyke Nesterova žitija prep. Feodosija pečerskogo po drevnejšemu iz došedšix spiskov", Russkij filologičeskij vestnik 58 (1907): 1-79.

Lur'e, Ja. S., Istoki russkoj belletristiki; vozniknovenie žanrov sjužetnogo povestvovanija v drevnerusskoj literature (L., 1970).

Makarij, Istorija russkoj cerkvi, 2nd ed. (SPb., 1877-1891).

Meščerskij, N. A., "Problemy izučenija slavjano-russkoj perevodnoj literatury XI-XV vv.", TODRL 20 (1964): 180-231.

Mošin, V. O., "O periodizacii russko-južnoslavjanskix literaturnyx svjazej X-XV vv.", TODRL 19 (1963): 28-106.

Mueller, Ludolf, Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis (Wiesbaden, 1962).

_____, "Neuere Forschungen ueber das Leben und die kultische Verehrung der Heiligen Boris und Gleb", Opera Slavica 4 (1963): 295-317.

_____, "Studien zur altrussischen Legende der Heiligen Boris und Gleb", Zeitschrift fuer slavische Philologie 23 (1954): 60-77; 25 (1956): 329-363; 27 (1959): 274-322; 30 (1962): 14-44.

_____, Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion (Munich, 1971).

_____, Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status und der jurisdiktionellen Abhaengigkeit der russischen Kirche vor 1039 (Cologne-Braunsfeld, 1959).

Nikol'skij, N. K., "Materialy dlja istorii drevnerusskoj duxovnoj pis'mennosti", Sbornik ORJaS (1907), No. 4: 1-168.

Novgorodskie letopisi, ed. by A. F. Byčkov (SPb., 1879).

Obolensky, Dmitry, "Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow: a Study in Ecclesiastical Relations", Dumbarton Oaks Papers 11 (1957): 21-78.

Oljancyn, D., "Zur Regiergun des Grossfuersten Izjaslaw-Dymiter von Kiev", Jahrbuecher fuer die Geschichte Osteuropas 8 (1960), No. 4: 397-410.

Pogodin, M. P., "Nesterovo žitie sv. Feodosija kak istoričeskij istočnik", Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk, 2. otdelenie, Izvestija 9 (1860): 193-214.

Pope, Richard W., The Literary History of the Kievan Caves Paterikon up to 1500 (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Poppe, Andrzej, "Chronologia utworów Nestora hagiografa", Slavia orientalis 14 (1965), No. 3: 287-305.

_____, "La dernière expédition russe contre Constantinople", Byzantinoslavica 32 (1917) No. 1: 1-29; No. 2: 233-268.

_____, "Opowieść o męczęnstwie i cudach Borysa i Gleba", Slavia orientalis 1969 No. 3: 267-292; No. 4: 359-382.

_____, Panstwo i kościół na Rusi w XI wieku (Warsaw, 1968).

_____, "Le Prince et l'église en Russie de Kiev depuis la fin du Xe siècle et jusqu'au début du XIIe siècle", Acta poloniae historica 20 (1969): 95-119.

_____, "Russkie mitropoliii konstantinopol'skoj patriarxii v XI stoletii", VV 28 (1968): 85-108; 29 (1968): 95-104.

_____, "Russko-vizantijskie cerkovno-političeskie otnošenija v seredine XI v.", Istorija SSSR 1970, No. 3: 108-124.

_____, "La tentative de réforme ecclésiastique en Russie au milieu du XIe siècle", Acta poloniae historica 25 (1972): 5-31.

Priselkov, M. N., "Afon v načal'noj istorii Kievo-pečerskogo monastyrja", IORJaS 17, No. 3 (1912): 186-197.

_____, Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii kievskoj Rusi X-XII vv. (SPb., 1913).

Proxorov, G. M., "Izixazm i obščestvennaja mysl' v vostočnoj Evrope v XIV v.", TODRL 23 (1968): 86-108.

Rybakov, B. A., Drevnjaja Rus'; skazanija-byliny-letopisi (M., 1963).

Šaxmatov, A. A., "Kievo-pečerskij paterik i pečerskaja letopis'", IORJaS 2, No. 3 (1897): 795-844.

_____, "Neskol'ko slov o Nesterovom žitii Feodosija", IORJaS 1, No. 1 (1896): 46-65.

_____, Razyskanija o drevnejšix russkix letopisnyx svodax (SPb., 1908).

_____, "Žitie Antonija i Pečerskaja letopis'", ŽMNP 1898, March: 105-149.

Serebrjanskij, N. I., "Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žitija", ČOIDR 1915, kniga 3: 1-296 + 1-186.

Siefkes, Frauke, Zur Form des Žitije Feodosija. Vergleichende Studien zur byzantinischen und altrussischen Literatur. (Berlin, Zuerich, Gehlen, 1970).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tinnefeld, F., "Byzantinisch-russische Kirchenpolitik im 14. Jahrhundert", Byzantinische Zeitschrift 67 (1974): 359-384.

Vasil'ev, V., "Istorija kanonizacii russkix svjatyx", ČOIDR, 1893, kniga 3: 1-256.

Viskovatyj, K., "K voprosu ob avtore i vremeni napisanija 'Slova k Izjaslavu o Latinex'", Slavia 16 (1938-1939): 535-567.

Xarlampovič, K. V., "O molitvax prep. Feodosija pečerskogo", IORJaS 17, No. 2 (1912): 165-174.

Xorošev, A. S., "Iz istorii bor'by Novgorod protiv Moskvy (mestnaja kanonizacija 30-40 godov XV v.)", Vestnik moskovkogo universiteta, serija 9- istorija, 1971, No. 6: 54-61.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.